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Yeltsin on Aims of Visit to Belgium

LD0812143793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Sergey Vozianov] This morning the Russian president left on an official visit to Belgium. [Video shows Yeltsin talking to reporters in airport hall]

[Begin Yeltsin recording] First, my visit can be divided into two sections: The first part is the official visit to Belgium. It marks a completely new phase in relations, with the signing of a treaty on political and economic relations, an all-embracing treaty. The second part of the visit is devoted to the European Community. A document was supposed to be ready, an agreement between Russia and the EC. We have to sign this declaration and coordinate a joint trade and economic agreement between Russia and the EC. For the first time since the end of the 19th century Russia is beginning to develop trade and cooperation with the European Community. [end recording]

Belgian King Welcomes Yeltsin in Brussels

LD0812142493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1349 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Brussels December 8 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived for an official visit to Belgium today. The Russian president's visit aims to upgrade relations between the two countries and lay the foundations for more intensive trade relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union. Yeltsin is scheduled to meet the leaders of the European Union and the leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation for talks here.

Yeltsin is accompanied on his trip by Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev, Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation Pavel Grachev and other officials.

The Russian president amd his wife were welcomed on the tarmac of the Brussels airport decorated with the flags of the two countries by King of Belgians Albert II and Queen Paola. The welcoming party also included Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, Foreign Minister Willy Claes and other Belgian officials. The president of Russia and the king of Belgians inspected the guard of honour. The anthems of the two countries were played.

From the airport the Russian president was driven to the royal residence for a conversation with King Albert.

The Russian president's three-day visit to Brussels is in the focus of attention of Belgian newspapers today. The newspaper "LA LIBRE BELGIQUE" devoted a page headlined "event of the day" to the visit which, according to the newspaper, will be highlighted by signing the agreement on partnership between Russia and the European Union. "This agreement must facilitate the development of both political cooperation and the expansion of trade exchanges between Russia and the European Union," the newspaper said.

A similar viewpoint is expressed by the Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, who is now heading the leading bodies of the European Union. "In the political context, I favour the extension of the most favoured treatment to Russia," he said in an interview printed in LA LIBRE BELGIQUE today. "Economically we must open our markets to East European countries," the Belgian prime minister said.

Agenda Reported

LD0812143393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Brussels December 8 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin's talk with King Albert II of all the Belgians began today morning at Laeken Palace, the official residence of the Belgian kings, located in one of the most picturesque suburbs of Brussels.

The agenda of the first day of the Russian president's stay here is very busy. After his talk with the Belgian monarch, Yeltsin will lay a wreath at the tomb of the uknown soldier. Later in the day he will have talks with Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dahaen and Foreign Minister Willy Claes. The official signing of a treaty on concord and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Kingdom of Belgium will take place after their talks. By concluding this treaty both sides intend to impart to the Russian-Belgian relations "a new quality of concord and partnership". After that, as envisaged in the agenda, the Russian president will meet journalists.

Presidents Sign Cooperation Treaty

LD0812165293 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1600 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin is on a visit to Belgium. He has been received at the Egmont Palace by Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene. The two men have just signed a treaty of understanding and cooperation between Belgium and Russia. This treaty updates the relations between the two countries and introduces new areas of cooperation such as defense, space cooperation, and the fight against drugs and terrorism.

Yeltsin Comments on Elections

LD0812175993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1631 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Brussels, 8 Dec—Talks have just started here in the ancient Egmont Palace between President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, who arrived here this morning on an official visit, and Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene. Immediately following the end of the talks, the two leaders signed a treaty of accord and cooperation between the two countries.

Replying to journalists' questions following the completion of the signing ceremony, the Russian president called the results of the Russian-Belgian talks and the signing of the Russian-Belgian treaty "a major historical event." He emphasized that it was the first time in the history of our relations of the past few centuries that a document of this kind was signed. Replying to a question about the prospects regarding the forthcoming elections in Russia and the referendum on the draft new constitution, Yeltsin said: "I am an optimist. Naturally, some leaders advocate the rejection of the new constitution, but our people have common sense and will vote for the basic law of the country".

Yeltsin also said that he would apparently appear on Russian TV the following day with an address to the people of Russia linked to the coming elections and the referendum.

The special ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from circles close to the Russian delegation that Russia's representatives are full of praise for the results of today's Russian-Belgian meetings. These sources emphasize that the talks have again shown that the mutual relations between Russia and Belgium have a sufficiently rich history, but that they always lacked a core element, an underpinning foundation. Now that the Russian-Belgian treaty on accord and cooperation, defining a strategic perspective for bilateral relations, has been signed, the requisite foundation is in place. Other important documents aimed at developing cooperation between both countries are being elaborated. The circles close to the Russian delegation note that it is symptomatic that a coincidence not only of the sentiments but also of the political positions of our delegations made itself felt in the course of the meetings and talks in Brussels

Agreement Viewed

LD0812181693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1649 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Brussels, 8 Dec—The historical changes that are taking place in Europe have opened prospects for setting up a just and stable peaceful order on the European continent. This idea was enshrined in a treaty of accord and cooperation between Russia and Belgium which was signed today by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and Jean-Luc Dehaene, prime minister of Belgium.

This is the first such document ever concluded between the two countries. It underlines that the both sides "will develop their relations as friendly states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, and political independence." The document underlines that this is a new kind of accord and partnership. The document was signed straight after the conclusion of negotiations between Boris Yeltsin and Jean-Luc Dehaene, and it is based on the resolve of the sides "to overcome the effects of Europe's split into opposing blocs." The sides agree that "security and stability should be based on dialogue, partnership, and cooperation as well as on practical implementation of the principle of defense sufficiency.

Russia and Belgium confirmed their adherence to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty signed in 1968 as well as other international agreements and conventions directed at prohibiting the development, production, and accumulation of other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

The Russian-Belgian document, which consists of 16 articles, envisages stepping up bilateral meetings at the political level as well as the expert and technical levels. Both sides will encourage holding regular consultations on topical issues at the foreign minister level. The development of contacts in the military field is also expected.

Under the provisions of the treaty the two states will cooperate in tracing Russian and Belgian citizens who for various reasons have found themselves on the territory of their countries.

The treaty attaches particular importance to "deepening mutual cooperation in such fields as the economy, power engineering, transportation, communications, finance, and agriculture." As a prospect for the future, it is possible that joint programs will be drawn up for cooperation in such fields as the agro-industrial complex, privatization, financial services, and banking. In addition, the sides intend to cooperate in using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In particular, specialists in the two countries will work on joint projects to ensure nuclear safety and to process military fissile materials so that they can be used for civilian purposes.

The document signed by the Russian president and the Belgian head of government today will be valid for five years. After that every time it will be extended for two further years.

Kostikov Recounts Talks

LD0812202093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev, Yuriy Sizov, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, 8 Dec—The intensified further integration of a democratic Russia into Europe and the European Community was the focus of bilateral negotiations between Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and Jean-Luc Dehaene, prime minister of Belgium, which took place during the first day of an official visit by the Russian leader to Brussels.

Vyacheslav Kostikov, the press secretary of the Russian president, told journalists that the Belgian side welcomed Russia's return to Europe and considers this process as an important factor of stability in Europe and in the entire world. The "Cold War" era is over, Russia has stopped being an enemy, it is going to Europe, and we are talking now about this transition, which should not be delayed by various bureaucratic obstacles, and about the creation of conditions for Russia's full entry into the European Community.

Russia considers itself to be a great power and the successor to the Soviet Union and all its might. The presidential press secretary noted that everybody clearly understands that Russia cannot and does not want to wait in the entrance hall of "the European house" and to ask permission to enter.

A similar view was also expressed by Belgium's prime minister in the course of the talks, V. Kostikov said. He stated frankly that it is necessary to achieve the same high level of confidence in relations between the European Union and Russia as that which exists between the EC and the United States and between the EC and Japan.

In the course of the discussion of the internal political situation in Russia and other states of the former USSR the Belgian prime minister stated that Belgium and the entire European Community as a whole support the democratic reforms which are being conducted by the president and the Government of Russia, V.Kostikov said. In Jean-Luc Dehaene's assessment, these reforms today are the only possible way to ensure stability in Russia in which the whole of Europe is highly interested, the press secretary said.

The Belgian Prime Minister voiced concern at the situation in the "hotspots" of the former USSR and the situation in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone was discussed in particular. In this connection the Russian leader drew attention to the fact that neither the UN nor the CSCE are taking part in peace-keeping efforts on the territory of the CIS, and the need for this is evident: Russia alone finds it difficult. Boris Yeltsin said that Moscow would act "very cautiously" with regard to the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict inasmuch as any unilateral move or imprudent step could aggravate the situation.

During the talks, the press secretary went on, the issue of nuclear weapons in Ukraine was raised. Boris Yeltsin voiced the hope that the international community, the European Union, and the United States would exert more energetic pressure on Ukraine and demand from Ukraine that it meet the international obligations it has undertaken.

A large part of the discussion was devoted to bilateral relations between Russia and Belgium. Boris Yeltsin pointed out that Russia has great hopes for signing a treaty on friendship and cooperation with Belgium. This document will help lift bilateral relations to a new level. By comparison with Russia, Belgium is a small country, but it has built up the great political experience of cooperating and working in European institutions. Apart from that, the experience of a federal structure that Belgium has gained could be particularly valuable for Russia. It is essential for Russia, which is also a federation, to make use of this experience, the presidential press secretary emphasized.

Russia's entry into Europe is impossible without the reform of its economy and further reinforcement of the essential legislative basis. That is why the participants in the talks, while noting good prospects in the area of trade and economic cooperation, stated that their development is at present held back by the absence in Russia of reliable legislation on the protection of foreign investments. In the words of the press secretary, settling this problem would allow for a major influx of Belgian investment in Russia. He pointed out that it can be deduced from pronouncements by the Belgian prime minister that there are investors there who are ready to invest in Russia, but at present they are being careful. The Russian president told his collocutor that the government will soon renew work on the draft law on foreign investments which was frozen by the former Supreme Soviet.

In V. Kostikov's opinion, one possible direction for business cooperation could be setting up Russian-Belgian joint ventures, including joint work in third countries, in particular in the area of industrial construction.

The issue of possible deliveries of Russian natural gas to Belgium was discussed. The necessity of setting up a joint commission to prepare an appropriate agreement was raised. The Russian president voiced the opinion that joint development of gas deposits is a possibility.

Spokesman Comments on Visit

LD0812213993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2012 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Batyrev, Yuriy Sizov, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels December 8 TASS—The theme of the intensification of further integration of democratic Russia with Europe and the European Community featured prominently during the talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene in Brussels on Wednesday.

The Belgian side welcomed Russia's return to Europe, considering this process as an important factor of stability in Europe and the entire world, Russian Presidential Spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told journalists.

The era of the Cold War is over and Russia is no longer a foe. It is moving towards Europe and does not want this transition to be delayed be various bureaucratic traps. Russia considers itself a great power, the legal successor to the former Soviet Union and all its might.

Everyone understands that Russia cannot and does not want to stand in the doorway of the "European home" asking permission to enter, Kostikov stressed.

He said the Belgian prime minister voiced a similar opinion. Dehaene spoke directly about the need for establishing as high and credible relations between the EC and Russia as the EC has with the United States and Japan.

The premier said Belgium supports on the whole democratic reforms conducted by the Russian president and the government as they are the only possible way today to ensure stability in Russia to the benefit of the entire European continent, Kostikov said.

Dehaene expressed concern about the situation in trouble spots in the former Soviet Union, particularly in the Georgian-Abkhazian war zone. In this connection, the Russian president pointed out that neither the United Nations nor the Conference on Security and Cooperation Europe are involved in the peace-keeping operations in the CIS. However the need for their participation is obvious: it is hard for Russia to handle such issues alone. Moscow will act "very carefully" as far as the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict is concerned because any unilateral movement or a careless step may aggravate the situation, Kostikov quoted Yeltsin as saying.

During the talks the sides touched upon the problem of nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine. Boris Yeltsin expressed the hope that the international community, the European Union and the United States would exercise more influence on Ukraine demanding that it fulfill its international commitments, the press secretary said.

The talks focused on bilateral relations between Russia and Belgium. Yeltsin noted that Russia was pinning great hopes on signing a treaty on accord and cooperation with Belgium, believing that this document would bring bilateral relations to a new level. Belgium is a small country compared to Russia, but it has great political experience of cooperation and work at European institutions. Apart from this, the experience of a federal system accumulated by Belgium might become especially valuable for Russia. Russia, which is also a federation, should take over Belgium's experience, the presidential press secretary said.

Russia's integration into Europe is impossible without reforming its economy and further strengthening of a legal basis. Therefore, participants in the talks pointed out rather good prospects in the field of trade and economic cooperation, saying that the development of this cooperation had been impeded so far by the absence of reliable legislation on the protection of foreign investments in Russia.

According to the press secretary, the solution of this problem might trigger a strong inflow of Belgian investments into Russia. The press secretary noted that proceeding from statements made by the Belgian prime minister one can arrive at a conclusion that there are investors in Belgium ready to invest capital in Russia but they are being cautious so far.

The Russian president told the Belgian prime minister that in the near future the Russian Government would resume work at a draft bill on foreign investments which had been frozen by the former Russian parliament.

In Kostikov's opinion, one of the possible directions of business cooperation is the establishment of joint Russo-Belgian ventures, including their joint work in third countries, in particular, in the field of industrial construction.

The sides discussed the possibilities of supplies of Russian gas to Belgium. It is necessary to create a joint commission to prepare a corresponding agreement. The Russian president expressed the opinion that there was a possibility of joint development of gas deposits.

Yeltsin Says Russia 'Admitted' Into Europe

BR0912095593 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 9 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin, by LA LIBRE BELGIQUE correspondent Boris Toumanov in Moscow, on 8 December: "Yeltsin: 'At Last We Have Our Place in Europe'—Russian President Already Views His Trip to Brussels as a Success"]

[Text] President Yeltsin had returned the day before from a trip to northern Caucasia, visibly tired but resolutely optimistic about the determination of Russian citizens to approve the text of the new Basic Law, which will be put to a referendum next Sunday [12 December]. On Wednesday morning, before leaving for Brussels, Mr. Yeltsin met with several journalists, including LA LIBRE BELGIQUE's Moscow correspondent.

The meeting was a mark of interest which betrays the importance the Kremlin has attached to Mr. Yeltsin's trip. In fact, it is worth pointing out that, since Peter the Great, no czar, general secretary of the Communist Party, or Russian president has made an official visit to Belgium.

Recognized and Admitted

[Toumanov] Mr. President, in this new phase of partnership and cooperation with the European Union, the launch of which will be marked by your visit to Belgium, what is the most important aspect of this process? Is it the economic aspect, or the permanent political dialogue which will be established between the European Union and Russia at the highest level?

[Yeltsin] For a long time, the European Community and Russia have worked on a draft document which was aimed at leading up to a cooperation agreement. And it would seem that everything is ready. Consequently, we must now sign this declaration and make the final amendments to the text of the agreement on economic cooperation between Russia and the European Union. That is very important for us.

It means that Russia is at last being recognized and being admitted into Europe. In this respect, I believe that the success of my visit is assured, for the simple reason that everything is ready. The issue awaits nothing more than some political conversations between us and the procedures required by protocol. With that behind us we should sign the agreement. [end Yeltsin]

In response to a complementary question asked by a colleague working for Russian television, Mr. Yeltsin stated that from now on—for the first time since the start of the century—Russia would indulge in economic and commercial trade with Europe as a whole, while at the same time engaging in a political dialogue.

A New Phase

[Toumanov] What are you expecting to emerge from your contacts with the Belgian authorities?

[Yeltsin] As you know, my stay in Belgium can be divided up into two parts. The first part will be devoted to the official visit to the Kingdom of Belgium. Then, we will launch a new phase—indeed, an entirely new phase—in our bilateral relations. We will proceed to sign a cooperation agreement which will cover the political and economic domains and eventually the full spectrum of our relations. On this subject, as in the broader context of our relations with the European Union, there are no priorities, for the scope of this agreement will embrace all spheres of life of our two peoples.

Yeltsin Talks With EC, NATO Leaders Previewed

PM0912120593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by special correspondent Vladimir Kuzar: "Russian Federation-European Union: A Dialogue of Equals"]

[Text] Brussels—Brussels, the major city of the Kingdom of Belgium and the unofficial capital of the European Community [EC] and NATO, hardly goes without its fair share of the world community's attention. However, recently it has clearly focused all gazes on itself. I judge so by the huge influx of my fellow journalists here. There are several reasons for this.

Above all, there is the forthcoming meeting of the heads of state and government of the EC countries. In effect it will be the first since the Maastricht Treaty came into force, and hence it should set the tone for the cooperation of the "twelve" in conditions of the officially proclaimed union. And since the main problems of the EC countries lie in the economic sphere—the slump in production, financial disorders, and the incessant growth of unemployment—the primary theme at this meeting, which is to take place 10-11 December, will obviously revolve around these. But not these alone. The EC leaders will be unable to avoid discussing security problems and will attempt to coordinate their actions aimed at settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

All the same, for all its importance for the EC's future, this meeting is of a routine nature. But an extraordinary event will serve as its prologue—on 9 December a meeting will take place for the first time between the Russian Federation president and the heads of state and government of the EC countries.

Boris Yeltsin has already arrived in Brussels. He has begun talks with the Belgian leaders. While this report was being filed, the Russian leader was having a meeting with King Albert II of the Belgians. Talks will be held in the afternoon with Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene and Foreign Minister Willy Claes. On their completion a Russian-Belgian Treaty of Accord and Cooperation is due to be signed.

While giving due attention to the official visit of the head of the Russian state to Belgium, so important for relations between the two states, observers from various countries are all the same showing most interest in Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming talks with the EC leaders. They should pave the road to a political dialogue on an equal footing between the Russian Federation and the EC. And, although it is already clear that the agreement on partnership and cooperation that is in preparation will not be signed during these talks (this will possibly take place in spring 1994), it is planned to adopt in Brussels a joint declaration reflecting the main provisions of the future agreement.

It can be said with confidence that, in the course of the Russian leader's visit, questions of safeguarding European security will be discussed in detail. In this connection observers have focused special attention on the fact that the Russian delegation in Brussels includes Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense. A working breakfast is planned between Boris Yeltsin and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. All this clearly indicates that questions of the future security system on the continent have come to the fore.

Judging by the words of representatives of the Russian Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs with whom I was able to talk, a security system which would include Russia as an equal partner would be acceptable to us. This would lead to the final healing of the schism in Europe.

Yeltsin Begins Talks With EC

LD0912113293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1101 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Brussels, 9 Dec—Talks have begun here between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and members of the EC

Commission, the main administrative body of the European Union. The Russian leader was met at the entrance to the building of the Commission of the European Community by Commission President Jacques Delors.

Once the talks at the Commission are completed, a joint political declaration is to be signed on partnership and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the EC. This document maps out the main directions for political dialogue and commercial-economic cooperation between Russia and the EC.

Yeltsin Meets With NATO Leaders

LD0912095693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Russia considers itself a great power and feels that the Europeans should understand that it is joining Europe just as if it were returning home after being evicted due to circumstances of the 1917 revolution—that has been a feature of Boris Yeltsin's talks with the leadership of the European Union in Brussels, which have ended.

Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, who had talks with the Russian President on Wednesday, confirmed this point of view: The Europeans understand that the process of Russia's return should not be drawn out and that the most important factor of this return is not just European, but world stability, he stressed during the talks.

Political observers are paying particular attention to the Russian leader's meeting with NATO Secretary-General Woerner, which is taking place right now. The conversation will clearly concern cooperation between the new Russia and NATO. Boris Yeltsin has not ruled this out, saying that it would be possible to utilize the NATO structure for Russia to enter fully into Europe. The President also intends to visit the European Parliament and hold bilateral talks with the leaders of a number of EC countries today.

NATO Cooperation Viewed

LD0912121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Batyrev, Yuriy Sizov, Gennadiyy Talalayev, and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, December 9 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner focused on ways of strengthening trust and partnership between Russia and NATO at talks held here this morning.

The 45-minute meeting held at the official residence of the Russian leader passed, according to Mr. Woerner, "in a friendly and constructive atmosphere".

Replying to journalists' questions after the talks, Woerner stressed that "Russia has become NATO's partner, and this partnership is reliable". "We have succeeded in ending the 50-year confrontation and establishing relations of cooperation," he added.

"Our talks focused on how to deepen substantially our cooperation and relations of trust," NATO leader continued.

He said that the sides reached a principled understanding on expanding contacts between Russia and NATO in the military and other spheres, since, the secretary-general stressed, "both the Russian president and our organisation as well as I personally believe that fruitful cooperation between us is vitally important for stability and future of all Europe".

"We discussed chances for setting up a new structure of pan-European security, Woerner went on to say. The sides also discussed the "partnership for peace" initiative recently put forth by U.S. President Bill Clinton.

The Russian president, Woerner noted, spelled out his viewpoint on establishing an all-embracing peacekeeping system and stability in Europe.

Informing Yeltsin of the coming summit of NATO heads of state and government to be held next January, which will discuss the initiative, Woerner invited Russia to participate in its implementation.

Commentary on NATO's Policy on Admitting New Members

LD0712182593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Members of the 38-nation North Atlantic Cooperation Council, including states from Europe and North America, declared last weekend that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had adopted a resolution not to admit new members into the organization and to establish relations of partnership with Russia and other East European countries. Commentary is by Vladislav Kozyakov.

One would like to believe that the refusal of NATO to grant membership to some East European states is clear evidence of the fact that it is done with due regard for the present day realities. Europe's security would hardly gain anything if NATO's war machine were at a shorter distance from the borders of Russia.

It's not that the Russians are somewhat biased against NATO. As Russian diplomats believe, and in accordance with Russia's newly established military doctrine, no country can be viewed as enemy. This concerns all NATO countries, including the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France, with which Russia is developing more cooperation.

But the fact remains that even now when the Cold War is over, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains a military organization. No doubt NATO's influence on the military and political situation of the neighboring states, including Russia, is evident. The more so, all the promises of NATO strategists to transform their military union into a political one after the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the disintegration of the Soviet Union were pushed into the background.

It so happens that NATO, created as a counterbalance to the Soviet threat, is functioning now too, when there is no threat at all. Some analysts in the West believe that under the new conditions, to justify the existence of NATO is a jigsaw puzzle for its strategists. [passage omitted] For all that, the authors of the report admitted that such plans might arouse Moscow's indignation.

All indications are the participants in the latest session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels preferred to avoid a decision concerning the admittance of new members into NATO. Instead they declared a new policy line aimed at establishing relations of partnership with Russia and other newly-independent states, but it does not mean that the idea of granting membership to some other countries has been buried. Chief NATO commanders regard the partnership for peace course as a period of preparation for some countries for assuming by them, in the future, obligations concerning membership in this military organization.

It is clear, however, that in the future it is necessary to develop more cooperation between countries of Europe and North America and not to expand military alliances in Europe and set them against other countries. A reliable system of security must be based on close cooperation between all countries. The 38-nation North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which is already in operation, seems to be the right step in this direction.

NATO Heeds Concerns Over Expanding Alliance

PM0812131793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev commentary: "It Seems That NATO Has Finally Made Its Choice"]

[Text] There has been a real upsurge of political activity in the international arena in recent days. In the capitals of the West European states there has been a series of multilateral meetings and sessions. The 39th session of the Western European Union Assembly has just taken place in Paris, and in Rome there has been a conference of CSCE foreign ministers, which KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported in previous issues. At the end of last week the winter session of the North Atlantic Council and a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council took place in Brussels.

There are many factors behind this activeness. The most important of them is undoubtedly the need to finally determine their position in the circumstances of the post-confrontational period, to elaborate a political course to suit these circumstances, and to really establish relations of cooperation and partnership among all the European states.

We now have every reason to say that NATO has made a choice which will determine the alliance's future. Participants in the Brussels session arrived at the unanimous view that expanding the alliance does not figure among its immediate tasks. It was decided not to rush into admitting the bloc of Central and East European states that want to become members or to give them any security guarantees under Article 5 of the North Atlantic pact. The NATO members thereby compromised with Moscow, which takes a negative view of the idea of extending NATO's sphere of activities to the East. This gave Britain's THE GUARDIAN grounds to assert that "the NATO countries' governments have decided to make the developing security partnership with Russia the cornerstone of their post-Cold War strategy in Europe."

Both the support given at the North Atlantic Council session to Russia's criticism of Kiev for refusing to unconditionally ratify the START Treaty and for its delay in becoming party to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a nonnuclear state, and the positive assessment of the new Russian military doctrine are, in the opinion of observers, evidence of the priority that the North Atlantic Alliance's members now attach to cooperation with Russia. The results of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council session, which demonstrated the common approaches of Russia and the NATO countries toward determining this forum's role in the new system of institutions for European cooperation and in maintaining stability on the continent, were also evidence of this. At the same time, it was shown that there is a need to strengthen the North Atlantic Coordination Council's coordinating role in settling conflicts born of aggressive nationalism and in strengthening the system for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Itinerary of Gore's Visit to CIS, Germany Noted

PM0912121593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "Program for Gore's December Trip Announced"]

[Text] A White House communique has been put out in Washington about the program of U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's foreign trip 11-18 December 1993. During his visit to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Germany, meetings will be held with leaders of these states, and agreements on bilateral cooperation with the United States will be signed.

In particular, it is planned that during his visit to Moscow Vice President Gore will meet with Russian Government Head Viktor Chernomyrdin; both statesmen are cochairman of the Russian-American commission for cooperation in the field of power engineering, diversification of military production, science and technology, space exploration, and environmental protection. Albert Gore also intends to visit St. Petersburg. Apart from this, the vice president will visit servicemen from the U.S. Rhein-Main air base during a short stop in Germany on his way to Kazakhstan.

Pentagon's 'More Realistic View' on Missiles Noted

PM0812131993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev report: "Drastic Shift Expected?"]

[Text] Admittedly, a recent report in THE NEW YORK TIMES that "the Pentagon is formulating a plan to retarget its nuclear missiles from installations in Russia to deserted oceans" seemed dubious to me. It was staggeringly different from what U.S. Strategic Command target designation experts have been doing for a long time. The most urgent question for them was always how many warheads should be targeted against Russian missile silos, military bases, etc.

But yesterday U.S. President Bill Clinton confirmed that the United States and Russia are studying the possibility of stopping the targeting of their strategic nuclear missiles against one another's territory. "We are working vigorously on this now," the head of the White House said at a press conference. "We are working actively with the Russians on cutting back nuclear weapons and on ensuring that we both feel safer after doing so." The President said that a definitive decision has not yet been taken, but is under preparation.

Until recently the Pentagon was extremely skeptical about the idea of retargeting missiles, first voiced by Russia. But the U.S. military department seems to be starting to take a more realistic view of the world situation.

Possible Missile Retargeting Agreement Viewed

PM0812164993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Sychev: "Moscow and Washington Will Keep World Ocean in their Sights"]

[Text] Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander of the Russian Strategic Missile Forces, has had talks with top Pentagon officials and the command of the U.S. strategic forces regarding the retargeting of strategic nuclear missiles.

At his latest press conference President Bill Clinton did not specify whether the consultations had gotten far. Russian state institutions are also refraining from comment.

The Russian and U.S. presidents are examining at least two ways of implementing the initiative suggested in April by Boris Yeltsin to President Clinton in Vancouver. According to one option it is planned to retarget ballistic missiles, designed by Russia and the United States for mutual destruction, on godforsaken corners of the world ocean. According to unconfirmed reports, 24 desert regions have already been identified as suitable for the role of false targets. Another option envisages not targeting the missiles anywhere.

"The idea of retargeting has long been discussed in academic circles," a staffer at a Russian department said. "It is useful and it is good that we are moving from theory to practice. Russia and the United States are no longer adversaries yet to this day they have been keeping each other in their sights."

What will the implementation of the Russian idea provide? If there is an unsanctioned launch there will not be mass human casualties or a retaliatory nuclear missile strike. Because of its military-technical flaws the agreement could become a touchstone of the sincerity of the friendship between Moscow and Washington and a confidence-building measure. After all, apart from secret agents there are no other means which would allow us to assure ourselves of the honesty of our partner and his fulfillment of his commitments.

In addition it takes only about 15 minutes to retarget individually targeted missiles and warheads. You only have to put the necessary programs into the computers.

Nonetheless it is better to have "disoriented" missiles than missiles which "know" precisely the point that has been targeted in the United States or Russia. In given circumstances the time necessary for reprogramming could save mankind.

Volkogonov: No U.S. MIA's Forced To Stay

LD0812153893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Today there is no American who is forced to stay in Russia. The statement was made Wednesday at a news conference by the co-chairman of the Russian-American commission to investigate into the plight of the U.S. citizens reported missing on the territory of the former Soviet Union, the Russian president's military aide Dmitriy Volkogonov said.

In an interview with INTERFAX Volkogonov said that the situation in Russia after the changes excludes the very possibility of the secret detention of Americans. Even if detained somewhere, an American may today come in contact with the authorities or there could emerge a person who would inform of the fact. KGB-style secrets are impossible in Russia, said Volkogonov.

He sees the main task of the Commission in the collection of testimonies and documentary proof that could convince the U.S. side of the futility of the search for their fellow-countrymen in Russia. Now we shall take our American counterparts to Magadan for them to see for themselves that there is no prison where their countryman is kept and there have been none, and rumors about it are not true to fact, said Volkogonov.

He said that the Commission had investigated into the plight of over 20,000 Americans who were taken from Fascist concentration camps to their homeland. As many as 180 of them were taken into Stalinist camps, he said. He said that today many things are clear about the plight of many American citizens who died on the USSR territory and their graves are found.

Speaking about the Russian Security Ministry's position concerning the search for the missing Americans, Volkogonov said that its new leaders had a different approach to the Commission and its activities from that of their predecessors and were opening its archives. However, not everything has been solved on the medium level. Medium officials treat the Commission negatively, said Volkogonov.

U.S. Farmers Aiding Private Farmers in Russia

PM0712172793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "U.S. Farmers Send Our Farmers Butter For Us To Turn Into Creameries"]

[Text] The first consignment of humanitarian aid from the United States in the shape of 5,000 tonnes of butter has arrived in St. Petersburg. A start has thus been made to realizing the joint project of the Russian private farmers' association AKKOR [Association of Russian Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives] and "Land O Lakes," the largest farmers' cooperative association in the United States.

This project, which is calculated to run for three years, is part of a long-term program for cooperation between Russian and U.S. nonstate farming structures aimed at creating a competitive structure of agricultural commodity producers in Russia. The Western partner—the "Land O Lakes" organization—unites 350,000 farms and 1,300 interfarm cooperatives; it has a 30-percent share of butter production in the United States. U.S. farmers are launching their produce on the Russian market in order to aid the formation of interfarm reprocessing structures in Russia.

Food sent by U.S. farmers under this project will be sold on the wholesale market, and the proceeds will accumulate in the account of the "Russian Farmer" federal fund and will then be used on a returnable basis to develop private farming enterprises for the purchase, storage, and processing of food and agricultural raw materials. At the same time the most promising projects put forward by private farming associations and vetted by a group of economics experts will be funded. In addition, these funds can be used by farmers to redeem enterprises that are being privatized in order to organize interfarm structures.

Farmers will return the money to the fund without interest, but allowing for inflation, whereupon it will be put back into new projects.

NAFTA Process Contrasted With CIS Disunity

PM0812142593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Manki Ponomaryev under the rubric "Observer Takes the Floor": "Being Born Before Our Eyes"]

[Text] The paths of historical progress are not much like the Nevskiy Prospect sidewalk. They rarely run in a straight line; more often they veer from side to side, and moreover are scored with ruts and potholes. Nevertheless, the general direction shows through fairly clearly, and today we have every reason to suggest that the desire for integration is increasingly becoming the definitive trend in international development.

The coming into force of the Maastricht agreements and the formation of the European Union—the political, economic, and military unity of 12 states of the continent—was a striking example of this trend in action. And now before our very eyes a still larger association is being born—the biggest market on the planet, NAFTA (from the first letters of its English name: "The North American Free Trade Agreement").

It was signed on behalf of its participants—the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico—more than one year ago. But it came into force only recently, since it required ratification by parliaments. Whereas in Canada, and subsequently in Mexico as well, the ratification process proceeded relatively painlessly, in the United States it provoked keen debates—which also enveloped congressmen—between supporters and opponents of creating a free trade zone on the North American continent. Only as a result of energetic efforts on the part of the administration and the president personally was the agreement approved by the House of Representatives and subsequently by the Senate of the U.S. Congress.

Observers have assessed the ratification of the NAFTA treaty as a major victory for Bill Clinton. And it is not only a question of his having smashed the opposition of his opponents. The head of the White House managed to overcome the mounting isolationist tendencies in American society, to ensure, in his own words, that "our national concerns did not obscure from us our national interests." And Washington sees these interests in developing free world trade and renouncing political protectionism, which should promote the confirmation of the United States' indisputable leadership in the world economy. Paris' LE MONDE described the results of the vote in Congress as follows: "Bill Clinton's administration reinforced its status in today's post-Cold War period in which economic relations play the determining role."

And so, with the formation of NAFTA a new world order is born in economics and trade. The planet has essentially divided into three "economic blocs"—the North American, Euro-African, and Asian-Pacific. They will not be engaged in the ruthless ideological and military confrontation which characterized the situation in the world only a few years ago. But there will be a struggle nontheless—a keen struggle involving the use of all forms of competitive trade war.

And here NAFTA will have considerable advantages from the outset. This association includes countries with a population in the order of 370 million people spread over a gigantic territory stretching between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans from the North Pole to the equatorial zone. Here more goods and services will be produced than anywhere else in the world—to the tune of $7 trillion a year. NAFTA countries account for almost one-fifth of the entire world volume of trade.

From 1 January 1994 almost all trade and investment barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico will be eliminated over a period of 15 years; favorable conditions have been created for the development of trade between them, the volume of which already now exceeds $250 billion a year. The possibility of the free movement of goods, capital, services, and manpower will open up. New laws analogous for all three countries will be adopted in the sphere of environmental protection and certain other areas; labor legislation has been reduced to a common denominator.

The formation of the North American Free Trade Zone and the creation of a unified trade area will result in significant advantages for the economies of the member countries. It is important that the creation of NAFTA does not lead to the formation of a self-contained economic area closed to other American states. The press has reported that Chile is the next country in line for the conclusion of a free trade agreement. Colombia and Argentina have already expressed a readiness to join NAFTA —and not alone, but together with Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

In this way a trend toward unification, toward integration is clearly emerging on the American continent and acquiring increasingly visible contours. As for the reaction of other countries to this process, it is equivocal. Several states of the Asia-Pacific region, for example, fear that the free trade zone in North America could lead to a reduction in their exports to the United States. West European countries are also expressing various doubts. BERLINER ZEITUNG writes that it is becoming clear that the United States "is primarily interested not in Russia, Somalia, Bosnia, or Haiti. NATO too has receded into the background, all the signs suggest. Principal attention will now be devoted to the United States' economic interests."

Yes, the formation of the North American Free Trade Zone not only resolves some problems, but also engenders others. That cannot be helped—dialectical contradictions are intrinsic to any historical process. But the main thing nonetheless is that the world is taking the path of integration, and not isolation. And this lesson should have been drawn long ago in Russia and other CIS countries, which are responsible for increasing alienation on one-sixth of our planet.

Pastukhov: Sanctions Against Abkhazia May Be Loosened

LD0812185693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1553 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The economic sanctions imposed by Russia against Abkhazia, may be loosened and even later canceled if Abkhazia creates the conditions, Interfax has been told by the special envoy of the Russian President in charge of settlement of the Georgian- Abkhazian conflict, Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

He explained that by saying "conditions" he meant the return to the basic provisions of the Sochi Agreements and strict observance to the Geneva Agreements.

The deputy minister said that at the recent talks in Geneva, Georgia and Abkhazia made an important step on the way to settling the conflict. Encouraging, is the fact that the two sides have pledged not to use force or the threat of force. Also important is the fact that they have pledged to urgently solve the problem of the return of refugees to all areas of Abkhazia, said Pastukhov.

He referred to the memorandum signed in Geneva. It says that people who return to their native places will receive back the land, housing and property they once lost.

Also optimistic is the fact, he said, that the two sides have agreed to exchange POWs unconditionally. Importantly, measures will be taken to search out those missing, said Pastukhov.

At the present stage, he said, it is necessary to strictly observe the measures taken on not allowing weapons into the conflict zone, since this may cause a new outburst of hostilities.

Speaking about the participation of peacekeepers in settling the conflict, Pastukhov pointed to the two sides' desire to increase the number of international observers and agree to large-scale use, with the UN Security Council coordination, of the peacekeeping forces. I believe the measure is necessary. As to the international observers and peacekeepers, the solution of the problem will depend on the two sides' positions and the UN decision. Russia has never refused to be a mediator for finding a final settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, he said.

Pastukhov also said that expert consultations are scheduled for December 15-16 in Moscow. They will be devoted to working out proposals on the political status of Abkhazia, its future structure and relationships with Tbilisi.

Taking part in them are expected to be representatives of the conflicting sides and international experts. They are to prepare a report towards the next round of talks, for reaching a full settlement in Abkhazia, which is planned to be held in mid-January.

Further on Sanctions

LD0812193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 8 Dec 93

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Shakhray on Lifting Sanctions

LD0912112993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0945 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 9 December— Russian economic sanctions against Abkhazia should be lifted, "I have no doubt about this," Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, a leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, said in an interview for ITAR-TASS. Commenting on the results of his trip to the country's southern regions he stressed, "I am convinced that the idea of preserving peace has much support here."

The conversation with Sergey Shakhray took place in Sochi airport from where a convoy of trucks carrying humanitarian aid for the residents of the Abkhaz town of Tkvarcheli was dispatched this morning. The five trucks are to deliver about 20 tonnes of foodstuffs to the townspeople. This action is being financed by the Party for Russian Unity and Accord and organized by the Sochi headquarters for civil defense and emergencies. "We considered it necessary to direct some of the money collected by our party for electioneering purposes into social programs," Sergey Shakhray told journalists.

Abkhaz Deputy: Referendum To Decide Region's Status

LD0812184993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Abkhazia's future status will be determined at a referendum in the republic after the situation stabilizes and the refugees return, Deputy Speaker of Abkhazian Parliament Sokrat Djindjolia told a news conference in Moscow Wednesday. He said that in compliance with a decision by the Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba the houses left by Georgian during the evacuation will be returned to their owners.

Djindjolia also said that the economic sanctions imposed by Russia in autumn are still preserved. Among them is the reduction of electricity and food supplies. He also said that when negotiations with Georgia resume, the sanctions will be lifted gradually. He believes that sanctions will be lifted for good soon.

Djindjolia said that many CIS republics had provided and continued to provide food aid to Abkhazia. He said that an understanding was reached with Kazakhstan on supplies of 10,000 tons of grain to the republic.

Election Issues

Yeltsin To Address Nation on Elections, Constitution

LD0912095993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It is highly likely that the president of Russia will be making a televised address to the citizens of Russia this evening. It will be devoted to the forthcoming referendum on the new constitution and the elections to the Federal Assembly.

Boris Yeltsin has also said that he is optimistic about the outcome of the referendum. I hope that our sensible people will vote for the most important thing, which today means voting for the constitution, he stressed.

TASS Releases Speech Ahead of Time

LD0912105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0940 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Dec (ITAR-TASS)— Here is the text of the address by the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, to the citizens of Russia:

"Esteemed citizens of Russia!

The day is approaching when each one of us will have to make, possibly, the most important decision of recent years.

Elections to the Federal Assembly and the nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation will be held on 12 December.

The question of whether or not the Russia that we voted for in the presidential elections and at the April referendum will come into being hinges on your decision. The question of whether or not there is to be peace and tranquillity in Russia depends on what you decide.

Peace in our country hung by a thread at the beginning of October. Civil war was not just knocking at the door; it had already crossed the threshold. Extraordinary measures were needed to deflect this threat.

Today, however, it must be stated plainly: Until the new constitution is adopted, this threat will always hang over our country, over each one of us.

Work on the constitution has taken too long to complete. The country is changing. Fundamental transformations are taking place in it. Meanwhile, the old constitution continues to be in force.

The new Russia is forced to live by the old law.

Much is being said at the moment about the need to restore order in the country, about the need for effective measures to be taken against corruption, crime, and lawlessness.

All these good intentions and noble words will go nowhere until the principal law of Russia is put in order, until the country is given a normal, clear, and strong constitution.

We need a constitution if we want to maintain peace within Russia and to strengthen its positions in the world community.

We need a constitution as a backbone of a unified and powerful state.

We need a constitution if we want legality and order to be restored in the country.

Finally, we need a constitution to implement democratic reforms in the country in a calm and consistent manner.

True, far from everyone has found the draft constitution fully satisfactory. If you think of it, however, is it at all possible to make an ideal draft that would then be unanimously adopted for eternal use?

This is simply impossible. Russia is a different country now.

Whatever its drawbacks may be, the new constitution includes the vital thing—a reliable mechanism for protecting Russia and its citizens from shocks like those of October 1993.

If we wish our country, each other, and our children well, we must vote for the constitution. This is the most important thing at this stage.

Russia and its state system cannot continue to live according to temporary schedules. This may lead to a short circuit or a fire at any moment. We have no right to take such risks any longer.

I have often heard accusations recently that the constitution should be adopted not by the people but by the parliament of Russia. I do not agree with this.

We are all witnesses of how tough the election campaign has been, of how difficult it has been for representatives of parties and blocs to find a common language, how little experience they have, and how mutual grudges and ambitions have hindered them.

Deputies will need time to master their parliamentary work. For this reason they will need to have rules that are precise and clear. For this reason they also need the constitution.

If we fail to adopt it, we will have a new round of confrontation and new conflicts, this time in the Federal Assembly. Surely we must be tired of all that?

I regard it as my duty today to speak also of the president's powers under the new constitution, an issue that has become the subject of speculation and conjecture recently.

I have not concealed and do not conceal now that I support the existance of a strong president in the Russian state, and not just in the current transition period, but also in the future.

After all, Russia is an enormous state that occupies a significant part of two continents—Europe and Asia.

The president, who is elected by the entire population, by all the peoples and citizens of all regions or, as they used to say in the Russia of old, of all the lands, is meant to personify the whole of Russia, to be the main guarantor of its unity, and to bear the main responsibility for the country. For this, however, he must have the appropriate powers.

At the same time strong presidential power should by no means be and will not be absolute, totally unrestricted. These guarantees are set forth in the new constitution.

According to the constitution not a single body nor a single official in Russia will be able to concentrate the whole of power in his hands.

The constitution does not simply prohibit this, but also provides for the its prevention. The Federal Assembly has the right to remove the president from his post. The president has the right to dissolve the State Duma. These balance each other. Naturally these will only come into force in the most extreme and exceptional cases.

Esteemed citizens of Russia!

Among the candidates to the Russian parliament there are quite a few worthy, competent, responsible, and clever people. I believe that they are precisely the ones that will be elected by you.

We are holding elections in order to work and not to fight.

I am calling upon you to vote for those who will not enter the parliament with hatred, but with an understanding of the huge responsibility born by the state.

Vote for those who are not bent on struggle, not bent on confrontation, not bent on profit, but on the hard work that Russia needs.

Vote for those for whom the priority is deeds and not words and sweet-sounding promises.

Vote for those whom you know, who have already proved themselves to be responsible and honest people.

If deputies like this come into the Federal Assembly I am convinced there will be cooperation and there will also be mutual understanding.

I am prepared for the fact that people of different viewpoints and opinions will come into the parliament. This indeed should be the case. Any differences can be overcome if the most important thing is present—the desire to do the best not for oneself, or even one's party, but for Russia.

Today, on the eve of the elections, I declare that I am ready for constructive dialogue with all political forces that will be elected to the Federal Assembly.

As president, I intend to interact actively with all democratic and reformist blocs and parties that will be represented in parliament. The future of Russia is up to them. I believe it will prove possible to overcome the present differences. For my own part, I will do everything to help this.

I am ready for cooperation with deputies regardless of their party affiliation. The only condition is that the cause and interests of the country must come first.

I very much hope that the Russian parliament will become an authoritative body of power commanding respect both in Russia and in the world.

I believe that the majority of citizens of Russia profoundly believe that our country must at last find a strong legal foundation, must obtain a constitution.

This will help us to secure stability in the country. It will help to strengthen the state; to prevent chaos, collapse, fresh revolts, and bloody clashes; and to make the state consequently better to tackle the numerous economic problems.

Overall, with a constitution it will simply be calmer for us all.

I am firmly convinced that this is precisely the kind of constitution that has now been put to referendum.

On 12 December each of us will make his decision. Let your heart and your common sense tell you what it should be.

Thank you!"

Russia's Choice Plans To Cancel Elections

LD0812185293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

Political scientist Aleksandr Tsipko, who is running for election to the State Duma as a Civic Union for Stability, Justice and Progress candidate, said he believed that the "ruling" Russia's Choice planned to cancel the parliamentary elections or falsify its results. He is convinced that Russia's Choice needs elections for the sole purpose of consolidating its power and securing a dominating position in the State Duma.

It is clear, however, said Tsipko, that Russia's Choice's plans to secure a majority of seats in the State Duma have failed. One may get the impression that these people are faced with a dramatic dilemma: either to cancel the elections, or, using their control over the administration, to falsify the results.

"An analysis of the way Russia's Choice conducts its election campaign and of the numerous violations of plain ethics suggests that these people may violate the same ethics again," he said.

Aleksander Tsipko and chief of the headquarters of the Civic Union's election campaign Valeriy Nikulin have accused the leaders of Russia's Choice and the Party of Russian Unity and Concord of abusing power in the interests of the election campaign. They said that leader of Russia's Choice Yegor Gaydar used his government-provided aircraft for his election tour. Earlier, Gaydar had visited a tank division in St. Petersburg, although campaigning in military units was prohibited.

Viktor Mironenko, deputy-chief of the headquarters of the Civic Union's election campaign, said that according to his sources an action to discredit the Civic Union in the media was being prepared. Mironenko emphasized that the Civic Union had materials discrediting its rival, but would not publish them before elections because such methods were indecent.

Rumor Denied

LD0812174793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Sergey Kovalev, head of the commission for human rights under the Russian president, dismissed the rumours that "a decree is allegedly being drafted to null the elections in case the Russia's Choice bloc is defeated and that Yegor Gaydar is involved in it". This is "crudely false", the well-known human rights activist running on the bloc's list for the state duma told TASS.

He noted that such rumours were unfortunately not unique. "The mixture of allegations like that ahead of the elections seems to be intentional", Kovalyev stressed. "Somebody is seeking to influence in this manner the public opinion in order to ensure the bloc's defeat or to reduce its chances in the elections", he suggested.

Thus, rumours are circulating about another decree, which is been prepared by Social Welfare Minister Ella Pamfilova, also Russia's Choice member. This decree reportedly provides for new pensions, which are to infringe upon pensioners' interests. A document on pensions is actually drafted at the ministry, but it aims to protect the rights and living standards of pensioners, Pamfilova confirmed at a recent news conference.

Among other rumours and gossips, Kovalyev cited the one alleging that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev favoured Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko's calls to impose a ban on any criticism of the draft constitution. In fact, he stressed, Kozyrev and the rest of the bloc members are of quite a different opinion. Russia's Choice flatly and in public dissociated itself from Shumeyko's position. Kovalyev said he had signed another decision on this matter on behalf of the bloc.

Not only rumours but also some actions are directed against the Russia's Choice bloc, the human rights activist pointed out. As an example, he cited the reluctance of the Domodevo Airport management to deliver the bloc's election leaflets to the regions in time.

Preparations for Citizens To Vote in Tajikistan

LD0812175293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1447 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 8 TASS—Elections to the State Duma (the lower chamber of a new Russian parliament), the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, as well as a referendum on the draft of a new Russian constitution will be also held on December 12 on the territory of Tajikistan.

Taking part in the elections will be as many as 16,000 Russian citizens, including servicemen from the collective peacekeeping forces stationed in the republic, the Russian embassy officials and members of their families, and other Russian citizens temporarily living in Tajikistan or native inhabitants of Tajikistan who received Russian citizenship. 73 polling stations have been set up at the Russian embassy in Tajikistan, as well as in all frontier posts difficult of access. The necessary quantity of ballot papers were delivered to all polling stations there.

According to Feliks Dovzhenko, head of the consular office at the Russian embassy in Dushanbe, foreign observers are not expected to arrive in Tajikistan. However, representatives of the United Nations mission accredited in Tajikistan, and members of the diplomatic corps may act as observers at the polling stations if they wish so, Feliks Dovzhenko pointed out.

Election Monitors Arrive in Moscow

OW0812001993 Tokyo KYODO in English 2302 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 7 KYODO—A second group of 10 Japanese officials arrived Tuesday [7 December] to monitor Russia's parliamentary elections on Sunday.

The group, led by parliamentary Vice Foreign Minister Syozo Azuma, consists of officials from the Foreign Ministry, Home Affairs Ministry, local governments and members of nongovernment organizations.

Five Diet members will leave Tokyo on Friday to join the delegation. They will monitor elections in Moscow.

A first group of six Japanese observers was already in Russia to monitor elections in Khabarovsk in the Russian Far East.

Presidential Envoy To Monitor Elections in Far East

LD0812113393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0929 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Eduard Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok December 8 TASS—Nikolay Abrosimov, the head of the Russian president's analytical centre, arrived in the far east to give first-hand information about the upcoming elections and the referendum to local inhabitants. He already spoke live on local radio to explain the president's social and economic policy to the potential voters.

Abrosimov commented on the main divisions and provisions of the new fundamental law and replied to numerous questions from listeners. He particularly stressed that the draft constitution provides for a number of economic and social transformations which can be of great use for the Far East with its natural, social and economic specifics.

Official Election Results To Take 12-14 Days

LD0812215593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2003 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] The official results of the elections to the Federal Assembly and of the referendum on the Russian Federation constitution will be announced 12-14 days after they take place. This term is due to the need to examine protocols to be submitted to Moscow by more than 95,000 constituency commissions. This was stated by Director of the Central Electoral Commission's statistics' department, Aleksey Korobov, during a round-table meeting with the participation of foreign observers and experts on electoral system reform.

The meeting discussed the coming calculation of votes, compared election legislation of a number of European states and America and tried to forecast the results of the voting on December 12. Russian, U.S., Austrian, Canadian, and Swedish specialists participated in the discussion.

Kozyrev Stresses Need for New Constitution

PM0912110393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Mikhail Shcherbachenko, partly in Severomorsk; date not given: "My Native Land Is Great..." bold passages are journalistic comment]

[Text] If the author of this interview had been on friendly terms with the foreign minister and had known his telephone number in Brussels, where Andrey Kozyrev was visiting when the Russian president was signing the Edict on the State Coat of Arms of the Russian Federation, he, that is to say the author, would have undoubtedly congratulated the minister on the fact that the country which he, that is the minister, and his colleagues represent had finally acquired a befitting symbol. This was a most important event for the diplomat. And I would also have expressed the hope that the Constitution of the Russian Federation would be adopted and that consequently there would be an end to the ambiguous situation in which, according to the country's existing Fundamental Law, the foreign policy department represents the now-defunct USSR and RSFSR.

Although admittedly the lack of an official coat of arms and a fitting Constitution never prevented Andrey Kozyrev from acting in the interests of the country which he himself perceives as a great power, great Russia. Great. That is how sees it.

That was the theme of our conversation.

[Shcherbachenko] In Yevgeniy Shvarts' play "The Shadow" there is a character who is physically weak and according to circumstances orders his servants to effect various poses for him—surprise, admiration, disappointment—including a pose of greatness. You may think the analogy dubious but in the idea of the greatness of the state—and this idea was a recurrent theme during your trips around the world—is there not something... well, shall we say, an element of incantation? Or is this just wishful thinking? The empire has collapsed but we are still....

[Kozyrev] This is nothing more than a simple statement of the fact. A fact which we ourselves cannot fail to realize. We are living in thrall to distorted concepts from which it follows that a great state must inevitably keep everyone in fear. To ensure respect for itself it remains in a permanent state of tension and in confrontation with the world and says "no" to everyone. It is somewhat akin to the streetcar psychology: If you get onto a streetcar and do not cause a scandal it means that you have wasted your time traveling in the first place.

Another illusion is the obsessive need to catch up with and overtake America. It is beginning here, too: Christopher went to the Near East; why didn't Kozyrev go? Christopher is taking part in some conference, so why isn't Kozyrev there? All these are inferiority complexes; it is just that the first is aggressive, the second imitative.

It is our destiny to be a great power, and we are interested in having a normal and benevolent attitude to ourselves. A great and powerful man, you may have noticed, rarely acts aggressively; he simply does not need to. The little dog howls at the elephant, not vice versa. So any attempt to attribute to the elephant the psychology of the little dog is completely incomprehensible, and it is dangerous: Can you imagine what would happen if the elephant began behaving like the dog?

The more powerful you are—and Russia is very strong both in potential and in reality—the more you stand to gain from a peaceful atmosphere. You take what is yours; all you need to know is what to take and how. The fact that we are a great power is not a subject for debate but is, I repeat, a fact acknowledged by everyone.

[Shcherbachenko] By everyone? Sometimes one gets the impression that it is recognized more by the so-called more remote foreign countries than by the former Union republics, and that the Russian foreign minister is, if you will forgive my undiplomatic way of putting it, at home among strangers and a stranger among his own people.

[Kozyrev] The nearer foreign countries are subject to complexes, as we are. We all lived in one country which was undoubtedly a great power. That power disintegrated into different states, and no one wants to surrender their former greatness.

[Shcherbachenko] The USSR was the home of elephants...

[Kozyrev] That was rubbish! But on the other hand the former Union republics are starting to say now: No, you are not a great power any more, you are simply Russia. However, the whole world knows and recognizes Russia's true worth. Both economically and militarily we are a superpower. There is no point in fretting over over how neighboring countries see us: Life will put everything in its proper place, and it is already doing so.

[Shcherbachenko] The more the situations in the former republics of the USSR become individualized, so common and universal models of foreign policy behavior become less appropriate. To be specific: How does Ukraine, for example, perceive Russia? Are there any audible notes of jealousy?

[Kozyrev] Ukraine has raised the question of the legitimacy of Russia as the successor to and continuer of the USSR. We are explaining that we are trying to repay the debts of the former Union, but there are debts to the Union, Ukraine says. That may be so; however, the USSR had debts to strong and well developed states which, forgive me for saying so, will not let Russia off the hook, so whether it will manage to recover its debts from those who can barely make ends meet themselves is a very big question.

No, Ukraine is still objecting, so there will be no progress. We want the same conditions as Russia has, they say. You're welcome, is our reply. Then it emerges that the West is granting Russia—with its oil, gas, and much else besides—exceptionally preferential terms for the redemption of the debt but reacts differently to Ukraine's appeal: We respect you, they say, but you are not Russia, so the "rules of the game" will be quite different for you.

Then Ukraine's representatives, putting their ambitions aside, appeal to us as their notorious older brother.

[Shcherbachenko] An inferiority complex developing into megalomania? Surely it is the other way around...

[Kozyrev] The Ukrainians are asking: Help us to negotiate with the United States; after all, you have good relations with them. To which I am forced to reply: You do not recognize us as a great power and as a result you are undermining our prestige. So why do you ask for help?

[Shcherbachenko] Andrey Vladimirovich, do you not get the feeling that the problems that are being experienced by the Russophone diaspora in the former Union republics have been created by that same failure to recognize Russia's greatness? After all, whatever else happens, Russia cannot properly protect the rights of its fellow countrymen at the present moment.

[Kozyrev] Let us begin the examination within ourselves. One of the main instruments of protection that you speak of is dual citizenship. A vulgar nationalism exists in a number of places, but even in those places where it does not exist people are afraid: Supposing something happens? They have a right to doubt because they are living in independent states. That is why they want dual citizenship, they want to be confident that there is still a possibility of returning to Russia, of owning property there, and so forth. This is a perfectly legitimate desire.

We are putting the question of dual citizenship to the neighboring republics. But the paradox is that we do not have a Russian law of our own on this matter! The Supreme Soviet, spouting about the protection of our fellow countrymen, approved a law which forbids dual citizenship.

The government, with the president's support, spent a whole year fighting the Supreme Soviet to introduce an amendment here. But the amendment only partly resolved the problem and came down in favor of granting dual citizenship to our fellow countrymen in the wider world....

[Shcherbachenko] As far as I am aware, this is still a relevant question to some—as regards the right of ownership, the possibility of investing capital....

[Kozyrev] That is true, and I wholeheartedly welcome the return of the emigrants—both physically, so to speak, and legally. But to be honest what we are dealing with here is individual instances. Furthermore, these people, living as a rule in developed countries, are fairly well protected anyway. But what we need is dual citizenship for the Russian speakers in the neighboring republics.

The draft Constitution now has an appropriate statute and for the same reason, among others, it is vitally necessary to adopt the new Fundamental Law. Then I, as foreign minister, will have the necessary levers of influence, whereas now when I demand an agreement on dual citizenship from our partners I am essentially violating Russian law. They could even imprison me for it.

The following incident happened two weeks ago. The special representative of the Russian president and the group accompanying him were shot at when crossing the Azerbaijan-Armenian border at an agreed point. The

Russian Foreign Ministry leader's reaction was stern: Kozyrev said in effect that if this incident had happened to a representative of the United States a U.S. aircraft carrier would have been sent to the scene immediately.

Our Northern Fleet has not performed such functions. Not yet. But who can guarantee that future political cataclysms will not confront its command with similar tasks?

Various roles—peacemaker, protector, entrepreneur, diplomat—may and already are falling to the lot of the Navy and indeed the entire defense complex. This thought has been implicit in the meetings between Andrey Kozyrev and men of the Northern Fleet. The minister visited those parts on official business and also because of the elections—Kozyrev is standing for election to the State Duma in Murmansk Oblast.

My conversation with Andrey Vladimirovich continued aboard the cruiser Marshal Ustinov in Severomorsk.

[Shcherbachenko] In general is the Russian Navy familiar with the roles that you are offering it? For example, have sailors taken part in peacemaking operations before?

[Kozyrev] There was an occasion—the only one to date but quite a successful one—when ships of the Black Sea Fleet took part in operations in Georgia. The first operation was to bring out refugees, the second to protect the main transport route which begins in Poti. Our ships went there, and as soon as they appeared the shooting stopped. Thus experience is gradually being built up and we are drawing the necessary lessons. Because there is no doubt about the future need for such actions.

[Shcherbachenko] But mercenary operations are beginning in addition to peacemaking operations.

[Kozyrev] There was never an institution of mercenary soldiery in the Russian Army; people never killed for money. Now this has appeared and is even being supported by various ideological justifications. The only problem is that the ideology is completely bogus. The military are being subjected to provocation by all sorts of political hooligans. Going to the trouble spots to earn dollars without knowing the origin of the cash is a base act. However, if it is not for dollars but simply because you want to be at the front line—then go to Tajikistan.

Here I am coming back to the peacemaking role of the Army and Navy. What alternative do you think there is to the Russian military forces in Tajikistan? There is none. The Russian-speaking population alone there numbers more than 200,000, and anyway the Tajiks are not strangers to us—we lived in the same country for many years. We cannot leave them to be robbed and annihilated. That is why our border troops are coming under fire.

At one time we presented to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on peacemaking forces. It was important to ensure that our forces could take part in maintaining peace and protecting the Russian-speaking population, at least under Russian laws. Do you think that they even adopted the draft for examination? No, they did not. All that they did was to wax lyrical about help for Russian people. Yet that law is vitally necessary to us!

[Shcherbachenko] In Central Asia and the Caucasus Russian officers and men are dying on the territory of the former USSR. Meanwhile we are clearly carrying out a rapprochement with NATO. Is it that same syndrome—at home among strangers, a stranger in your own home?

[Kozyrev] In recent years we have managed to transform the armed forces from the bugbear of the world into worthy participants in international contacts. Yes, Russia is taking part in maneuvers together with NATO: Incidentally, recently our Northern Fleet gave a very good account of itself in that regard. And we shall be involved in the future too: There are new maneuvers planned for the spring.

It is important to note that this is a powerful argument with regard to our former ideological allies in East Europe. We say to them: Do not rush to join NATO; there is no need. Russia is cooperating with the North Atlantic alliance and you can do the same. There is no need to expand NATO numerically.

Now for the question of "our own people" and "strangers." What do these words mean? We have restored the Russo-French alliance and recently marked its centennial. Our Navy men were among the founders of that alliance, their ships went to France, and political relations were established that way. The diplomats became involved somewhat later. Under the banner of that alliance we fought together in the first and second world wars. But then the former leadership of the Soviet Union altered the situation to the point where our true national interests were distorted. France became the champion of the imperialist forces and consequently the enemy.

Now finally, as you recall, France was for many years a military and political ally of Russia. Then suddenly there were accusations of betrayal and apostasy. But this was not betrayal—on the contrary, it was a return to the age-old Russian policy.

Generally speaking such an event as a peaceful visit by a warship to another country's port may be a major diplomatic action, and sometimes it may even be more effective than a visit by a foreign minister. Today we have advanced military hardware and can sell consignments of arms to other countries for hard currency. Once we have made sure, of course, that our weapons will not be turned against us. In brief, it is necessary to enter the world market. In this sense visits by Russian warships to countries in Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf, or Latin America, that is, to those countries where we have an opportunity to enter into military-technical cooperation, are very promising. The account could run into billions of dollars, after all—can you imagine the profit to the Russian national economy?

[Shcherbachenko] Yes, but is arms trading consonant with the military doctrine?

[Kozyrev] There is absolutely no contradiction here. According to the statutes of the military doctrine there must be no concession to any state in terms of combat readiness and the protection of Russia's security interests, but at the same time there must be no threat to anyone. The doctrine envisages the use of force only in response to overt external aggression and also when carrying out peacemaking operations in conflict regions in order to halt bloodshed. Our armed forces are required to ensure the stability of the Russian state and act as a pillar of world stability.

[Shcherbachenko] But that is surely a "protocol of intentions." I want to know what specific changes are in store for the Armed Forces.

[Kozyrev] The Army and the Navy will undergo qualitative improvement. We need to preserve and increase the production of the latest arms, which give a qualitative advantage, and form the military budget in accordance with that. Of course, in a number of instances there is bound to be a reduction in volumes: Indeed, it is impossible to go on producing outdated tanks endlessly. The money must be spent wisely. But we have reached a stage where we are producing within the same country weapons which, in terms of their tasks and tactical and technical characteristics, are identical.

But you want specifics. In the Soviet Union two first-class air defense systems were established. They were produced by different design bureaus and at different plants. Consequently we paid twice. Whereas the rich Americans paid only once: They concentrated on one system and saw it through to the end. Just imagine: In NATO, that bloc of independent states, armaments are more standardized than in the former USSR. We were trying to do something which the economy could not stand. Now, of course, it is necessary to keep and perfect a single system and spend the money thus released on the social needs of servicemen.

Military strength can, as in the USSR, seal off a country and intimidate those around it, but on the contrary it can also open it up, as though showing that state stability is guaranteed and security is not subject to doubt. One and the same means of achieving completely opposite aims.

Russia must repay its debts to the North—this is how the majority of Murmansk's voters have understood the essence of Kozyrev's election program. The Law on the North is correct in terms of its ideas but is too reminiscent of the unforgettable program for the building of communism. Because it is not clear how the sought-for result is to be achieved.

The foreign minister took an obvious risk by entering into competition with 10 rivals. He sensed this at once. His preplanned one-hour speech on Murmansk television was given a hostile reception by the other candidates: no publicity advantages for the "Viking overlord" from the capital, just a strictly timed television debate. Andrey Vladimirovich did not argue, and they ended up with something droll: During the debate the competitors themselves, now appealing to the minister, now seeking to "get" him, made Kozyrev the center of attention. The retinue played the king.

But these are details. Attentive observers of Kozyrev's desire to enter the Duma "in the name of the North" perceived a clearly delineated trend. Namely, the intention of Russian diplomacy to enlist support for its policy in the region, which borders on two Scandinavian states and which, at the same time, was for decades cut off from the world by the Iron Curtain. A little while ago, in the very place where the USSR and NATO were ready at any second to grasp each other by the throat, cooperation among the countries of the Barents Sea region began and is now rapidly gathering momentum. The Foreign Ministry played an incontestable part in this. With its help the economically most important regions of Russia can and must forge direct international ties without encroaching on the Federation's state integrity. "Arm in arm with diplomacy," as they say.

But what of Andrey Kozyrev? While maintaining during the election campaign outward loyalty both to the government and to the "Russia's Choice" bloc, to which he belongs, he has nevertheless acted as a markedly independent politician with his own position. He was put to a severe test of his detailed knowledge of Murmansk's problems and the means of resolving them in the Duma, and he was also subjected to a cross-examination by voters expressing diverse and even diametrically opposite political views.

[Shcherbachenko] Andrey Vladimirovich, I want to ask you a number of "angry" questions from among those that lie in wait for you both on the way to the elections and on your diplomatic path in general. Whether they arise out of a quite definite social psychology or, most frequently, come from people who regard you as a pro-Western radical democrat, these questions do, all the same, fall within the spectrum of public opinion.

We do not yet know what we have gained through rapprochement with the West, what we have lost, or what we have more of. But the fact that we have "let go" our former allies—the members of the socialist camp (Lord, what forgotten words!)—has caused direct harm to the people, harm which can be felt every hour. How could you, the head of the foreign policy department, allow such a...mistake—no, this is putting it too mildly. Such a fiasco!

[Kozyrev] You may consider it a fiasco, but I regard it as a great achievement that we have gotten away from a foreign policy which was founded on exports of our raw material resources and which was ruinous for the country. You should not count money when it is a question of defending the motherland against foreign aggression, but in all other cases you must definitely do so. You will see what a pretty penny our allies cost us. At what prices, one wonders, did we let them have oil—at world prices? At reduced prices which held us enslaved. Why must Russia be enslaved by so-called ideological allies, who, incidentally, ran off at the very first opportunity? I believe that a great power can have friends without ruining itself. For cheap oil I will bring you any "ally" in a flash!

[Shcherbachenko] You have again mentioned a "great power." But it is hard to maintain a proud bearing when your pocket is empty. We are rich in brains and guns; the brains are draining away, so let us at least sell guns and not be too finicky as to whether or not it is an aggressor who buys them.... What, after all, is more important to us—mythical friendship with the world community, which in terms of living standards has put us down as a Third World country, or our own economy? Arms exports used to bring quite a lot of money into the country.

[Kozyrev] Money, do you say? There is this figure of $12 billion. That is what it cost us to produce arms which were then passed on to fraternal parties and ideological regimes to wage the anti-imperialist struggle. Most of the weapons were simply given as a gift, while the rest went on preferential credits. Those debts will never be repaid to us, and everybody knows that. That sum has essentially been stolen from the country.

Now about the choice of buyer—rather, about an indiscriminate choice of buyer. I do not believe that we will be a great power if we start patronizing an aggressor. I do not believe that we need a Russia at which the whole world will point a finger and say: You are sheltering bandits. If we do not respect ourselves, others will start wiping their feet on us.

As regards money: OK, since we need it so badly, let us not observe the decencies. Let us investigate the situation. We are arming an aggressor who has attacked a neighboring country, and blood has been shed there. We want to get money from him. How? Take Iraq, let us assume: Where does it get money from? From selling oil. Where does it sell oil? To the United States and West European countries. But we need petrodollars from it, not petropesos or petrotugriks. This means that, in order to repay the debt to us in dollars, it must sell oil precisely to the West.

So the West will impose economic sanctions against it even without our participation. The oil will not be sold, and the debt to us will not be repaid. Here is both morality and economics for you. It is all very simple.

[Shcherbachenko] Interethnic and religious strife has become the curse of our time and the cause of senseless and merciless extermination. We must not remain neutral in this situation. Essentially: Why do we not venture to openly support the Serbs? The time will come when the Slav world will take vengeance on Russia.

[Kozyrev] It really is amazing how we have suddenly fallen in love with Yugoslavia and the Serbs, whom the communist regime could not abide for more than 40 years. I still remember from my childhood years a caricature of Tito with a blood-stained fascist ax. For some reason nobody thought about historical roots at the time.

I have been twice to the zone of fighting in Yugoslavia, and I have also been to all the "hot spots" of the former Soviet Union. The same tragedy is repeated everywhere: No one is right, and no one is guilty. Such is the logic of the consciousness of civil war. The Belgrade leadership—not the Serbs but the country's former communist leadership—did precisely what our State Committee for the State of Emergency was intending to do. The most interesting thing is that the so-called Muslims in Yugoslavia are ethnically the same as the Serbs, only at the time of the Turkish yoke they were converted to the Muslim faith against their will. The fact that Serbs rape Muslim women in order to alter the demographic composition merely attests to the enormity of the people's misfortune. All this, I repeat, has been nurtured by procommunist propaganda.

If we pursue a one-sided policy in respect of Yugoslavia—if we take, for example, the side of Orthodoxy—what, do you think, will the reaction in Russia be? Among those Russians who are themselves Muslims or who are drawn toward the Muslim religion? This, by the way, means Tatarstan, Chechnya, the North Caucasus—do we really not have enough problems there? What kind of wave will we be causing on the borders in Central Asia? Muslims make up the majority of the population there. Both in the CIS and in Russia itself we will end up with the same thing as in Yugoslavia—a religious and ethnic war. That will be the way we defend the Russian-speaking population in the former union republics!...

Russia, like no other state, cannot afford such a policy in any region. If only in the name of preserving its integrity. We live in a multinational country, in a very complex country. We broke up the Union; will we now break up Russia? Into 98 pieces, the number of components of the Federation? To prevent this from happening, I urge everyone: Vote for the Constitution. Otherwise there will be two more years of debates in parliament—and another sovereignty bandwagon. Sovereignty has now been removed from the draft Constitution, and it is necessary to vote for it in order to preserve the unified Russian state.

Maybe the draft is not free of shortcomings. But if somebody says to you that he can write a constitution perfect in all respects, be aware that you have a charlatan in front of you. The draft Russian fundamental law—like the U.S., French, or any other constitution respected in the world—reflects the present stage of society's development. The Constitution will allow us to breathe and work. It will give us what is most important now—political stability and statehood.

Filatov Welcomes Caucasian View on Constitution

LD0812154793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Head of the president's administration, Sergey Filatov, has welcomed the position taken by leaders of the northern Caucasus on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation.

Filatov told journalists on Wednesday that the results of Boris Yeltsin's two-day visit to the Caucasian region showed that leaders of the region support the draft constitution.

Leonid Smirnyagin, member of the Presidential Council and an expert on regional policies, who accompanied Yeltsin during his visit, told ITAR-TASS that leaders of Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Daghestan, Adygey, Rostov, Stavropol and Krasnodar regions fully support principles of Russia's federal system envisaged by the draft constitution.

Assessing the political situation in the North Caucasian region in the run up to parliamentary elections, Smirnyagin pointed out, for instance, that in Kabardino-Balkaria candidates are displaying more concern about elections to local parliament. In other republics, key roles are being played by candidates who have experience of working at federal structures of power, including in the former Soviet parliament.

Smirnyagin believes that professional politicians stand a better chance of being elected to the Federal Assembly from North Caucasian constituencies.

Interviewed on Elections

PM0812134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, leader of the president's administration, by Political Observer Lev Korneshov; place and date not given: "Sergey Filatov: All Russia's Citizens Will Benefit From the Adoption of the New Constitution"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Korneshov] The referendum on the draft new Constitution is being held 12 December. What will we all gain if it is approved by the people?

[Filatov] The main thing in the draft new Russian Federation Constitution, in my opinion, is that it enshrines human and civil rights and freedoms. For the first time in Russia rights and freedoms will be recognized and guaranteed in precise accordance with the generally recognized norms and principles of international law. Everyone is equal before the law and the courts—it is that rule which defines both the life of each citizen and the activity of the legislative and executive branches and the organs of local self-government. There will be no place for arbitrary rule. Society will be given a reliable legal foundation and a basis for democracy.

Questions of ownership also occupy an important place in the draft. Private property alone makes people really free and independent. The new Constitution guarantees each citizen the inviolability of the things that he has earned by his labor, intellect, and talent and ensures the continuity of ownership from generation to generation. Property is really becoming inviolate. Russians will become the real masters of their wealth.

The Constitution is called upon to give the country long-awaited stability. For the first time the rights of the president, the Federal Assembly, and the Government will be clearly defined and delimited. No one should be tempted to "grab more than his fair share." The democratic principle of the separation of powers will insure Russia against a repetition of the situation which occurred in the fall of this year and will create the necessary mechanism of checks and balances precluding the attempted seizure of power by one of the branches. Recently I have heard comments by certain political figures to the effect that the Constitution invests the president with virtually dictatorial powers. I absolutely disagree with that viewpoint. I believe that we need a strong president and a strong government. Under the new Constitution parliament will also have sufficient powers to prevent the emergence of an authoritarian regime.

After the lengthy and laborious work of the representatives of the federal organs of power and components of the Federation it proved possible to find a compromise formula combining general and particular interests. Thus Russia remains a single entity for all Russians while the components of the Federation receive every opportunity for full development. I know that not everyone agrees with this assertion, there are extremists on both sides. I believe that the art of compromise is the most important thing when it comes to difficult and contentious issues. What matters is not to try to achieve your aim regardless of the price but to understand and take account of your partner's interests and the realities. Therefore I am convinced that the draft which is being submitted to the referendum takes sufficient account of the interests of all Russians.

Of course, it may be argued very much that the draft new Constitution is not ideal. I really doubt that there is an ideal constitution in any country, but I am sure of one thing: there can be no democratic development without a constitution, and if the draft is not adopted at the referendum the country could be drawn into a new spiral of political confrontation and the disintegration tendencies could accelerate. Development via upheavals caused by a crisis is not the best path for the revival of society.

I am convinced, however, that very many of those who for some reason dislike individual statutes of the draft will nevertheless support it as a whole. Russians showed wisdom in April this year and will show it again now.

The calls to vote against the draft are, in my view, irresponsible and unworthy of state figures who are supposed to be concerned not for themselves but for their country and the people who live in it.

[Korneshov] There is going to be not only a referendum 12 December but parliamentary elections too. Making predictions, of course, is a thankless task, but, nevertheless, are you optimistic about their results?

[Filatov] Russia now stands on the verge of its most serious choice. I have no doubt that the tens of millions of our fellow citizens will make the right choice. There is no turning back; that is obvious. Attempts to reverse the processes will lead only to chaos.

The reform forces in parliament, I believe, will prevail. I believe that "Russia's Choice" will win the largest number of seats out of all the parties and blocs. I say that not because I belong to that bloc myself but because I know the mood of the Russians. This does not mean that we are guaranteed a "peaceful life" in parliament. On the contrary, it is necessary to take a realistic look at the existing difficulties. None of the parties will get an absolute majority in parliament. The success of the reforms will largely depend on how smoothly the various type of reformers manage to work together in parliament. That question worries me very much. [passage omitted]

Defends Constitution, Power Structure

MK0912095093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, by Vladislav Dorofeyev: "Sergey Filatov: The Premier Must Be With the President"]

[Text] In recent days attention has been focused not only on the upcoming elections and referendum, the problems of the country's federal structure, and interrelations between the center and the regions, but also the main actors on the Russian political scene. On 8 December presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov gave an exclusive interview to KOMMERSANT-DAILY's commentator Vladislav Dorofeyev.

[Dorofeyev] Mr. Filatov, how do you relate to statements by some opposition parties that the draft constitution has been written "to suit Yeltsin" and that if it is adopted, it will create the foundations of an authoritarian regime in the country?

[Filatov] It should be specified which opposition is in question. If it is the communist opposition, the current constitution gives it a chance to come to power by holding strikes and creating tension in society. But I do not quite understand what worries the Russian Democratic Party about the draft new constitution. I also know that there are various opinions on the constitution within the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc.

Under the new constitution, the president and the government have much power. I think that this is good. But the constitution also envisions mechanisms which allow the abuse of this power to be prevented. The general prosecutor, the chairman of the Russian Central Bank, and court chairmen are appointed through interaction between the president and the Federal Assembly. Here no one gets any priority. The president proposes and the State Duma appoints. At the same time, the State Duma nominates the prime minister and the president appoints him.

Under the current constitution, the president appointed the prime minister with the consent of the congress, and dismissed him with the same. And at critical moments this allowed the prime minister to act independently. If during the recent events the government was headed not by Viktor Chernomyrdin but by some other person, one who had speculated on this situation, there would have been great problems for the state. Therefore the prime minister must always be with the president. And the president, via this figure, regulates interrelations between the government and the State Duma.

[Dorofeyev] But in any event, in relations with the parliament the president has the final word.

[Filatov] This is correct, but the parliament may override a presidential veto. It is simply that the voting level is somewhat upgraded. There is also impeachment. This mechanism is complex. It is right that it is complex, but it still exists.

Moreover, the president is controlled by the budget, which is fully in the hands of the Federal Assembly. This is the strongest lever that exists in all parliaments of the world. The president's international activity is overseen by the parliament's power to ratify international agreements and treaties.

[Dorofeyev] The categoric choice between "yes" and "no" at the referendum on the constitution appears dubious.

[Filatov] The Interim Statute says that Chapters 1, 2, and 9 are subject to revision through very serious and complex procedures while other chapters may be changed by voting in the Federal Assembly, in both chambers. And the constitution is bound to change. Today not more than 30 million people are out of work. In other words, the command and the bureaucratic systems are still in place, but they will weaken with every passing year that we embrace the market.

The Federal Assembly will be able to bring the constitution into line with the demands of the time.

[Dorofeyev] What do you think about attacks on the constitution in Komi, Tatarstan, and Bashkortostan after any mention of the republics' sovereignty was omitted from the draft?

[Filatov] I have the impression that whatever the constitution might be, these republics would behave just the same. Still, I distinguish between two notions. There is state sovereignty and there is the sovereignty of power. Many are seeking sovereignty of power, full independence, absence of control and accountability. This is probably similar to the game of nationalism. I understand that many local leaders have to maneuver, but the danger line must not be crossed.

Very often the republics do not understand that we are strongly integrated. Yes, the republics have concentrated a colossal industrial potential, but Tatarstan immediately stood aside when the accident at the KaMAZ plant occurred. It is necessary to separate politics from economics.

In conclusion I would like to explain to the doubters: We understand very well the shortcomings of the draft and of everything connected with adopting the constitution. However, if on 21 September everyone had agreed that we should elect a new State Duma and if there had been consensus in society, then we might have had some other mechanism to adopt the new constitution, but today there is no such possibility And the constitution must be approved by a nationwide ballot.

Comments on Future Parliament

PM0912110193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Olga Gerasimenko: "Filatov Forgot Himself in Kremlin"]

[Text] S. Filatov, leader of the president's administration, stated yesterday at a meeting with journalists that three republics within the Russian Federation—Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, and Tuva—have categorically refused to discuss the proposed draft Constitution. Most likely an official statement on the subject from the Russian Government will follow any day now.

Sergey Filatov announced that a TV speech by the president is expected 9 December. Expressing himself on the proposed disposition of forces in the future parliament, the leader of the president's administration stated that it would be no bad thing if a qualified majority "under the figure of the premier" is created in the Duma.

He also made public the figures of his sociologists on the results of the forthcoming elections. Obviously Sergey Aleksandrovich has forgotten the strict order from the Central Electoral Commission not to issue to the press any proposed disposition of political forces before 12 December, but we are law-abiding and remember the order.

Advises Observers To Read Constitution

LD0812141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1319 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Head of the presidential administration Sergey Filatov believes foreign observers who will monitor the upcoming elections and referendum in Russia should more attentively read the Constitution rather than listen to various comments to it.

"The assessments of foreign observers, unfortunately, are often based not on the text of the Constitution, but on comments of its opponents", he told reporters after meeting a group of observers from the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on Wednesday.

Evidently, the dispute with observers emerged on the powers vested with the president by the new Constitution. Filatov said he had substantiated his point of view that the presidential powers are "a balanced, not dictatorial authority".

He also expressed hope that Russian and foreign reporters, as well as foreign observers will objectively cover and monitor the polls on December 12.

Filatov said that observers from the parliamentary assembly were mostly concerned by statements of nationalist leader of the Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the possibility that the draft Constitution could be voted down.

Zhirinovskiy had said that in case he came to power he would restore Russia in the boundaries of 1900 when it included Finland, Poland and some positions in China.

Filatov responded that the draft Constitution bans political parties advocating violence and chauvinism.

In case the draft Constitution is voted down the president and the future parliament will work on it together, he added.

Presidential Council Member on Constitution

LD0912111493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1048 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—"The best promotion for the draft Russian constitution is the fact that Communists denounce it on the grounds that its adoption would mean "a change in political system," Georgiy Satarov, member of the Presidential Council, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday [9 December].

"The present constitution is a constitution of the Soviet Government, which was as monopolist and negligent as the leaders of the former ruling party are (as far as their ideology is concerned)," said Satarov.

"As a taxpayer, I am not satisfied with such a fundamental law," he emphasized.

According to Satarov, in the draft constitution all the branches of power are made responsible which "protects me from the government".

Satarov is well aware of the fact that "the draft constitution is biased in favor of the executive branch of power". Each voter, however, is entitled to decide for himself whether or not a strong executive branch of power is needed at the current transitional, unstable period.

According to Satarov, if the draft constitution is adopted, it may be amended. If it is not adopted, then the threat of reciprocal constitution-based blackmailing between the branches of power will remain in place and another spell of violence, which is expected to exceed the previous ones, may occur.

Irrespective of the results of the referendum, it is important that the Russian president and the would-be deputies seek compromise, because the social life depends on their personal traits for stability, Satarov emphasized.

That is why the December 12 elections are so significant, he added.

All Election Campaign Funds Now Allocated

LD0812172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0952 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 8 Dec—All the money allocated by the state to the Central Electoral Commission for the needs of the election campaign have been handed over to the Commission by the Ministry of Finance. Valeriy Bagin, a member of the commission and head of the working group dealing with financial bodies, told ITAR-TASS that the remaining 32.7 billion rubles [R] have just been transferred to the account and that the Ministry of Finance has paid all R82.7 billion allocated for the elections and for the referendum on the draft constitution in accordance with Yeltsin's decree. [passage omitted]

Voter's Hour Election Program for 8 Dec

LD0812221593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 8 December carries the "Voter's Hour" program. The announcer introduces the program as follows:

"The mass media, including television, reported the initiative by representatives of the Russia's Choice bloc to alter the time of their election broadcast so that soccer fans could see a live broadcast of a match. But, on the basis of the statutes on the procedures for using the mass media during the elections to the Federal Assembly, as confirmed by the Central Electoral Commission, the electoral blocs and associations are allocated free air time between 1900 and 2300 and this cannot be altered. Therefore, we will show you the soccer report at 2235 as promised previously."

The first 20-minute slot is devoted to the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin electoral bloc and consists of a recorded talk by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. He begins by saying that the country needs a parliament, a federation, and a constitution. He continues:

"The parliament should resolve one very important task. It should be a constituent assembly. It should found a new country, found it in accordance with the wishes of our citizens. It should complete the constitution. It should, on the basis of this constitution, hold reelections to all branches of power. It should, finally, put itself up for reelection so that by 1996 Russia should have all new bases of statehood."

Yavlinskiy complains that there is no debate about the new constitution. He says:

"In this case, we cannot consider that this is our constitution. Those who consider that this is their constitution will evidently vote for it in the referendum. However, those who consider that the constitution should have been debated and debated in such a way that even those who have not read it feel that this is a document which is accepted by the whole people,- those people should insist that the constitution should be examined in parliament and then, after broad debate, should be put to the citizens.

"After all, if it is said that we need some sort of constitution because it is impossible to live without a constitution, then let us live under our present constitution and there is no need to spend money on a referendum. And if it is said: Let it be just the way it has been written and it is not for us to rewrite it, then again we do not need a constitution, let us live by decrees as we have done for the past few months. It turned out that we could live like that, too."

He adds that people must decide at the referendum whether to accept the document as it is or whether it should be the subject of a democratic debate with parliamentary participation. The nature of the federation is not spelled out clearly enough in the constitution, he notes.

Defining his place in the political spectrum, Yavlinskiy says: "We are not the allies of those who are usually called centrists in our country, not because we are opposed to the center but because today what can be described as centrism or what describes itself as centrism is really extremely conservative." The party favors faster reforms and aims to play the role of a democratic opposition, Yavlinskiy conclude.

In a further 20-minute slot, the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms presents well-known party figures Popov, Sobchak, A.Sergeyev, Shaposhnikov, S.Fedorov, Yakovlev, and Basilashvili who comment on particular aspects of the movement's policies and appeal for support.

The third 20-minute slot features Russia's Choice and mostly consists of a a talk by Yegor Gaydar, who recounts the government's recent economic successes and says that now is not the time for a change of direction. There is also a contribution by Social Protection Minister Ella Pamfilova, who says that everything possible is being done to protect those most in need. Well-known ice hockey personallities Anatoliy Tarasov and Aleksandr Ragulin voice their support for Gaydar.

'Unity and Accord' Leader Shokhin Profiled

LD0812142593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0950 GMT on 8 December, in the "Election Marathon" program, carries a feature on the private and political life of Aleksandr Shokhin, one of the leaders of the Russian Party of Unity and Accord.

The video emphasizes the peasant roots of Shokhin's childhood in Orel Oblast, his qualities as a family man, and his enthusiasm for sports. In an interview at his home, Shokhin reiterates his political credo of being a reformer when the reforms need moving on and a conservative when radicalism needs to be checked. He says his ambition in life is to win the respect of the children, to make Russia's reforms irreversible, and to bring stability to the country.

He says that Unity and Accord have a good chance of winning support from the liberal voters and centralists, explaining that centralism today has nothing to do with the Leninist concept. He believes the electorate is sufficiently sophisticated to distinguish between Zhirinovskiy's categorical assertions, such as bread will cost 20 kopeks, and the explanations of policy given by the moderate reformers of Unity and Accord.

The video closes with the party slogan: "Accord among people, unity in the regions, a great power."

Further on Platform

LD0812220493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1904 GMT on 8 December carries the "A Word to the Voter" program, the paid election broadcast. The program begins began with a recorded video explaining the voting procedure, followed by the election advertisements of the Women of Russia bloc, Russian Movement for Democratic Reform, Russian Democratic Party, and Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

This is followed by a 10-minute segment on behalf of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, in which Party Chairman Sergey Shakhray is shown addressing a news conference. He speaks in favor of interaction between the center and the regions; he urges that more freedom should be given to the regions, and discusses market reforms in Russia. Video inserts show Shakhray touring the country during his election campaign. Speaking about the role of television at one of his election meetings, Shakhray says 70 percent of television time should be devoted to Russian culture and not to some bad examples of Western culture.

In the next 10-minute segment, on behalf of the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress, Civic Union leaders Arkadiy Volskiy and Aleksandr Vladislavlev are introduced. The caption on the screen read "No to New Economic Shock!" An interview with Nikolay Bekh, general director of the Kama Automobile Works, follows. He speaks about the Kama works and the scope of its activity and market reforms and advocates the adoption of the new constitution. Commercials for the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform, Russian Democratic Party, and Russia's Choice follow.

The final 10-minute segment is devoted to the Future of Russia - New Names bloc. Recorded video material features Anatoliy Guskov, director of the Ramenskoye rayon building association. Vyacheslav Lashchinskiy, one of the bloc's leaders, and two other unidentified members speak in the studio about the bloc's political agenda which includes the social protection of pensioners, protection against unemployment, and the reorganization of the state apparatus. The program ends as it began, by explaining the voting procedure.

Election Broadcasts by Pyzhikov, Zhirinovskiy

LD0812141293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 8 December, in its regular "paid for" election slot, broadcasts an election program by Aleksandr Pyzhikov, of the "Future of Russia-New Names" electoral association, followed by an election program by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party.

The "Future of Russia-New Names" slot begins with a short advertisement stating that Russia is tired of the political squabble and that new names are needed. Pyzhikov then begins his election address. He states that the electoral programs of all 13 blocs look very much alike, and continues:

"There is only one fundamental difference of our program from all the others: We have based it on one objective—the renovation of power. Without resolving this issue, nothing else will be fulfilled."

He goes on to say: "The full change is needed of the nomenklatura apparatus which built the edifice of communism in the seventies and which has now defaulted to different blocs: the Choice of Russia, the Communists of Russia, the Civic Union, and so on. We have nothing to do with these people. That is why we have set up our own bloc."

Pyzhikov then compares the present political situation with that of the 1950s, and appeals to voters for support.

The 15-minute address by Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, begins with a folk-pop song that has become his signature tune. He says that the 12 December election will be a turning point for Russia, torn between communists and radical democrats. "The only third force, that of compromise, able to balance these two adversaries, is our Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, and the guarantee of this is the unsullied resume of its leader, and the clean resume of the party. I have never been a communist. Neither I nor our party have ever given any support to the present political regime. This is a 100 percent guarantee that we are different."

Saying his party has long-term political ambitions, he continues: "This desire of the party to win the next elections as well prompts us to cleanse our ranks, to get our deputies, our ministers, and our bureaucrats to help you, rather than be in your way."

He then goes on to outline the measures to be taken. One must cut the bureaucratic apparatus at least by one-third, in order to fight corruption; bring new blood, "decent honest men" into the apparatus, military lawyers, law enforcement officers, and university graduates; cut red tape; boost bureaucrats' wages so that they will not be tempted by bribes; introduce trial by jury; help pensioners by providing them with rent-free housing, heating, and telephone lines: "The whole policy of our party is to eradicate homelessness, unemployment, and hunger," he states. He adds that unemployment is being created artificially.

He goes on: "There are very many ways of improving the economic life of the country. Take taxes. Many of our traders suffer from them. When I say: We must deal a blow against crime, I mean that only Russian citizens, in possession of a license, should trade on Russian territory. All southerners must leave Russia, because they are foreigners. They may come and visit, if invited. But they should only be able to come to Russia if they have a valid visa."

If they do not have it, he continues, "millions of southerners will go home, and you will breathe freely. Because it is not so much commercial kiosks that irritate you, but those who trade inside them. When healthy Russian boys, from your regions, are standing there with their honest Russian faces, they will be ashamed of deceiving you. For you know, that it is mainly aliens and fly-by-night southern mafia, who are the devil's advocates, swindlers, burglars, rapists, and killers. We must put an end to this. Decisive steps are needed there. We must not cut the army and Security Ministry troops. We must get the Officers' Corps and the Ministry of Security to fight crime in the toughest way. We must allow, temporarily, field courts-martial to be organized. If a criminal group is caught red-handed, its leader must be shot and killed immediately, there, on the spot, and group members must be sentenced to various jail terms within three days. Only such decisive—of course temporary, for six months—measures will enable us to get on top of crime, or else it will get on top of us."

He goes on to describe the crime situation, emphasizing the danger of fratricide, rape, and refugees. Then he describes in detail the election procedure, urging people to vote for his party: "I urge you: Please do not make a mistake. This is a choice of historical importance."

Then he promises to give money back to the people and to stop military conversion completely, and continues: "We will stop immediately everything that is making our life worse. We will close our border in the Caucasus, we will deal a decisive blow against crime, and you will take a deep breath in spring 1994."

Zhirinovskiy concludes: "But I plead with you. Give your votes on 12 December to the most honest and unsullied party—the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. I know that most of you will vote for us."

Zhirinovskiy Gives Election Broadcast

LD0812143093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 8 December, in its "New Wave" program, carries a 'paid for' election broadcast by Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia. The broadcast begins with the "Ekh, Vladimir Volfovich" pop-folk song and during the program Zhirinovskiy deals with the issues of Russia's proper border which, he says, should be the same as that of the former USSR but, he says, there is no need to hurry over achieving this.

He goes on to note that the Baltic states are bound to Russia because of the percentage of Russians living in them and their reliance on Russia as a consumer market. He pints out that too much food is being imported from abroad because officials are being bribed to facilitate this, leading to the destruction of Russian agriculture.

He notes the need to change pension and health insurance provisions on the basis of local contributory funds; to cut unemployment, especially that caused by the non-supply of raw materials from former republics; and the need for all the territorial divisions in Russia to be of equal status.

Yavlinskiy on Elections, Bloc's Program

MK0812130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Vil Dorofeyev, "by POSTFACTUM, Specially for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA," in the "Position" column; place and date not given: "Grigoriy Yavlinskiy: The Parliament We Are Choosing Must Become a Constituent Assembly"]

[Text] [Dorofeyev] Grigoriy Alekseyevich, you are being described as "a political economist" or as "an economic politician." Yet you have always shunned political power. Why are you now moving into politics, intending to run for the Duma?

[Yavlinskiy] I did not shun political power, but for me there is one major factor. Political power to me is important not as a thing in itself but as an instrument, as a possibility of realizing what I regard necessary as a professional. But when, after taking up a high position, you see that absolutely nothing can be done owing to the existing conditions, you have a choice—either to adjust and bluff in order to stay in power or say: "Excuse me, but now it is impossible to do what I have come to do here, and therefore I have to quit."

It was precisely owing to this that three years ago I and my colleagues published an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA called "Why the 500-Day Program Is Infeasible Now" and left the government. Since then there has not even once been a situation where, without abandoning one's own convictions, one could enter politics in the hope of implementing what you consider vitally important for the country. Today we are talking not about common politics but actually about founding a new country. Therefore we have tried to form an election bloc that would make it possible to get a team of highly qualified specialists into the Duma. This is difficult: The election rules are set by an authoritarian regime interested in consolidating its own positions. You can see for yourself how in the interests of one party these rules are being revised, how the mass media are being controlled, and how unfair methods are being used. Today the entire society, and not only a narrow in-circle, perhaps for the first time in decades can see how politics is cooked up. The entire kitchen, and all the tricks and nuances are there for all to see: Who thinks what, how he articulates his thoughts, and with whom he is working. This may destroy the traditional domestic stereotype that politics is a kind of a separate profession, a closed sphere where if you have a post and get a salary, you are a politician—and if not, well then, we are sorry. A politician is not he who, for instance, heads the Ministry of Transport or any other ministry. Many former deputies, for example, were formally considered to be politicians but in fact had nothing to do with politics and never will. Some enter politics for the sake of power as such, supposing that they can hire someone to do the actual "business," but our society has already learned from its own experience that in order to conduct drastic transformations it is impossible to hire someone from the outside.

[Dorofeyev] What is the point then in joining the election race?

[Yavlinskiy] We have no illusions that as soon as we get into parliament, everything will immediately change for the better. The point is that the future State Duma and the Federation Council are, in my opinion, a constituent assembly and not a parliament. We are still very far away from real parliamentarianism. There should be no hopes that after such elections we will get a mature and really efficient legislative and representative power body. But the constituent function of the future Federal Assembly is an absolute imperative today. We are now in such a situation from which there is no other way out.

[Dorofeyev] But why? For example, authoritarianism....

[Yavlinskiy] This will not work here. Our country will not obey dictatorship now or in the future. Furthermore, in the absence of a large private sector the dictator will have to feed the country. To obtain bread Stalin had to undertake forced collectivization, but will Kuban give up its grain, or Tyumen its oil, or Vorkuta its coal just for the asking? Surely you cannot travel around the country in tanks all the time! Therefore another method needs to be found.

[Dorofeyev] What is it?

[Yavlinskiy] I repeat: A constituent body is needed which will transfer Russia to a legitimate, constitutional channel. What is involved is a measure, a procedure, a requisite stage to lay down the bricks, the blocks, into the foundation on which the entire democratic statehood will then be based. Without this it is impossible to move ahead. Moreover, parliament should be such that the people will respect it.

[Dorofeyev] But Grigoriy Alekseyevich, this is romanticism! In what country can such a parliament exist?

[Yavlinskiy] In any country, including ours. If the people who come into the new parliament are not dilettantes but real professionals for whom the means and methods are just as important as the aims, then the parliament will be able to work as a partner for the government, as its constructive opponent and assistant. There are not a few such people among my colleges and fellow thinkers. If we receive solid support—let us say, 15 to 25 percent of the slate ballot, and this is not ruled out—we shall be able to get such a team into parliament. It will include people who will be no less competent in the sphere of finances than the incumbent finance minister; on matters of privatization no less competent than the current chairman of the State Committee for Property Management; and on economic matters no worse than the foreign economic relations minister. Furthermore, we expect to rally around our platform for those State Duma representatives of progressive forces who are elected from other blocs. What matters for us are not so much the color or partisan shades as the feeling of responsibility and professionalism.

[Dorofeyev] And what is your platform?

[Yavlinskiy] Our political platform, in brief, consists in channeling the political process into a constitutional framework. I think that such an objective can consolidate substantial forces in the new parliament. To this end it is above all necessary to discuss, finalize, and adopt the new constitution. The draft constitution submitted by the president, if it is approved at the 12 December referendum, cannot be seen otherwise than an interim constitutional act. Such a procedure will allow to take into account the interest of all the main political forces, social strata, and professional groups and also the Federation components: working out a new election law on the basis of the new constitution and holding fresh elections for all bodies of federal and local representative and executive power, including the Russian president and the Federal Assembly itself. The parliament should implement these constituent functions within two years at the most. Thereby it will indeed fulfill its historic mission: By 1996 Russia will have a legitimate constitution recognized by society and also the legitimate power bodies elected on its basis.

[Dorofeyev] What is your bloc's economic program for the elections?

[Yavlinskiy] It would be a fantasy to write a program today for a government whose future composition is anybody's guess. The president recently stated, for example, that he wants to keep the present government while the incumbent premier has moreover gone on vacation until election day. The problem is that as of now there have been no substantial changes in the essence of our economy. Nothing has been done to shake monopolism, no competition has emerged, nor has the private sector begun to prevail. Some very insignificant changes have occurred in financial institutions and in the banking sphere. There are no serious incentives for domestic investments. Production decline, it seems, is not of a structural but general character. The state has "abandoned" the economy but has placed production price controls in the hands of the monopolies. As a result, we now have a quasi-market post-state economy—the same monopolized market but no longer controlled by the state. But this is not what we bargained for. You know the saying: "We wanted things to get better, but they turned out just as usual." I deliberately do not mention inflation among the evils of the current economic situation, although it is affecting people the most. I did not mention it because it is a derivative of the above. Financial stabilization is a result of prolonged transformations in the economy. It is a delusion to think that financial stabilization is primary and that it is feasible already at the current stage, without a radical transformation of ownership relations and structural changes in the economy.

[Dorofeyev] Do you think you will have enough allies in the future parliament?

[Yavlinskiy] I have said from the outset: There should be no illusions. The task of this parliament is rather specific. Today, contesting the elections, I have to convince society about the need for precisely this path of transformations. After all, what is paramount is not who will be carrying out the reforms but which reforms and in what way. And all the fighting on the part of my opponents is proceeding over the question: Who?

[Dorofeyev] At present there are probably no real opponents to the economic reforms in the country. In their strategic objectives your views coincide with those of Gaydar and Chernomyrdin....

[Yavlinskiy] I would say that it is not very correct to state that our views coincide. I believe that a successful financial policy may be called such if there is a convertible currency, a balanced budget, and substantial incentives for competition and production, but this can come about as a result of extensive transformations. Yegor Timurovich is promising first 5-percent, then 10-percent inflation, and what I am saying is that in the next three years nothing will come of it. It can only happen in three years, provided we start working really hard to put in place all those prerequisites that are needed to bring this about. The key task is not to achieve a 5-percent inflation level but to work during these three years in the right direction. You yourself in one of your books have cited Academician Artsimovich who said that if nine pregnant women are put together, the result will occur in nine months just the same. This is true in the economy too. Without a private economy, without competitive markets, without a competitive environment and a financial system, no stabilization can occur. What does it mean to create competitive markets? This involves colossal work because the entire system for more than 70 years has been built in a directly opposite way—perpendicular, if you like.

Just one example. There is an order whereby all enterprises are to be corporatized within four months. Almost simultaneously a document was issued on show bankruptcies. Yet it turns out that no one can do it because, for instance, winter is around the corner, and this particular bankrupt enterprise has the city's entire housing stock on its balance sheet. Is this familiar? Between 80 and 90 percent of profits of such enterprises is spent on maintaining the municipal public utilities. What does enterprise bankruptcy mean in these conditions? It means that people will have to leave this particular production facility, but where to? People live in houses that are financed by a bankrupt enterprise. The actual aim of the edict is the bankruptcy of enterprises, not the closure of cities. Therefore no one is paying attention to this edict. Before the objectives set forth in the edict can be accomplished, it is necessary to separate the housing and the entire social structure from the enterprises, privatize them, and convert subsidies into incomes. Then a housing market will be formed, a market of social services, and only after that can one raise the question of bankruptcy. People—employees of enterprises which are being closed—must have a possibility of selling their housing and moving to that region in Russia where there is demand for their labor. Incidentally, the enterprises, freed from the liability to maintain the social infrastructure, will be able to direct their profits to investments, which may save them from bankruptcy.

[Dorofeyev] Does Russia have a chance of passing the road of transformations without shock?

[Yavlinskiy] If you are referring to what has happened in our life after January 1992, then this is not "shock therapy." By liberalizing prices in a situation where the state monopolies reign supreme, the government simply transferred to them its price formation function. Now they set their own prices.

[Dorofeyev] Does this mean that prices will keep growing?

[Yavlinskiy] We proceed from the assumption that in the next three years, we will be forced to live in conditions of high inflation, but once all the preparatory work has been done, then, in order to stop the growth in prices, the people will probably have to be told: The price growth can be stopped, but this will involve the freezing of wages. Moreover, first an income growth will have to be registered and then, some six months later, the growth in prices will cease. This is painful but there is no other way. I am afraid that by that time there will be no way of doing without this.

[Dorofeyev] Do you think the new parliament will not follow the fate of the first State Duma in Russia?

[Yavlinskiy] Why draw this analogy with the first Russian Duma? It is enough to recall the fate of the USSR and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviets, but with the new parliament things will be different. First, these elections cannot be called communist. Second, these elections are being held according to the rules proposed by Yeltsin himself and worked out by his team. Voting will be held on party slates and on an individual basis. The elections are being contested even by parties which have actually been banned. Manifestation of disrespect for such a parliament, an attempt to push it onto the sidelines of political life, will mean nothing but disrespect for the whole of Russia and its voters. Can such an attack be undertaken? I do not want to say anything about the president himself, but recently Vyacheslav Kostikov, his press secretary, blurted out: "The president is not going to listen to all sorts of parties or blocs. He will be listening to the whole of Russia." This is a very dangerous symptom.

[Dorofeyev] If presidential elections are called in 1994 after all, will you run for this post?

[Yavlinskiy] If the elections are held on the basis of the new constitution, in other words, if they are legitimate, I will take part in them.

'Listen, Think, We Choose' Highlights DPR

LD0812223993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 8 December broadcasts the election program "Listen, Think, We Choose" which is presented by Vladimir Kurnikov.

Vladimir Kurnikov begins by saying that today is the final program in this cycle. In the studio are representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR]. Listeners are encouraged to phone in their questions.

DPR leader Nikolay Travkin begins by saying that today he had an irresistible urge to demonstrate the mercenariness of such newspapers as IZVESTIYA and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, which write false things about the party. However, he thinks that it is too late to get into polemics about this and he had better present his colleagues taking part in today's studio discussion: Nikolay Fedorov, former Justice Minister in the first Yeltsin government, and running candidate for the post of Chuvashia's president, Oleg Bogomolov, the director of the Institute of International and Political Studies, and film director Stanislav Govorukhin.

Travkin goes on to say that disintegration of the former USSR—the second anniversary of which, i.e. the Belovezhskaya Pushcha Agreement, is being marked today—had dire economic and social consequences for the people of Russia. At that time the DPR had opposed this action and still opposes it. Time has shown that they were right about this.

There follows a lengthy discussion about the economic and social implications of that event in which public reaction and reactions of prominent political figures at that time are recalled, the subsequent government's policies as well as "unrealistic" promises made by economists in the first Russian Government, such as Gaydar and Yavlinskiiy are criticized.

Govorukhin then moves on to the question of the new constitution, criticizing the powers it gives to the president. "All the attributes of the new monarchy are already present: Even the old state symbol is back—with the two crowns." The interlocutors criticize the premise that under the new constitution, the president and not the court is guarantor of the constitution and the rights of citizens. People should have a right to participate in the constitutional process and be able choose what sort of constitution they want to have, it should not be imposed on them from above.

Fedorov says that unlike the previous President Gorbachev, whose hands were was tied by the Politburo, the present head of state is not restricted in his actions by anything. Govorukhin disagrees: "On the contrary, there is an authority which he is afraid of: The West—Clinton, Mitterrand, and all the rest of them."

Announcer Kurnikov announces that questions from listeners have arrived. The first question reads: Did you not see two years ago that the USSR had already disintegrated? Travkin says that he personally did not see such a thing was taking place. All he saw was a need for a transformation of the former union into a modern-type economic community. His interlocutors beg to disagree, and say that such a tendency was indeed present. A discussion of the possible outcomes of the USSR's disintegration continues. All agree that what has happened at the end was the worst possible option.

The discussion then moves on to possible solutions for Russia's economic problems. Bogomolov says that it is not foreign credits that Russia needs—these credits will only make the future generations of Russians into perpetual debtors—but the end to discrimination of Russian goods in the international market place. He says at present the drain of capital from Russia far exceeds the flow of capital into Russia in the form of western credits. The interlocutors agree that there should be more support for domestic producers and that foreign imports are a drain on the economy.

More questions from viewers are read, most dealing with day-to-day problems and political opinions. Travkin criticizes the present government and politicians for not being in touch with reality, not even knowing the current price of potatoes, hence their economic mistakes.

Answering a question as to what concrete measures his party intends to take in order to put things right, and what program the DPR is going to put forward at elections, Travkin says: "It is the State Duma that is being elected. We can propose any program, but the president can say: Put it under your bottom and sit on it. Nobody has asked you to write programs. Programs are made by the government and are implemented by the government. Therefore, it is a senseless task today to write programs that nobody will take notice of."

Govorukhin argues that DPR has a program with which it is coming to the parliament: "As a dilettante, I shall try to explain it simply. Firstly, to return the true meaning to the notion of democracy. This is a gigantic program in itself—to restore the meaning of people's power. Secondly, to create a situation where to work honestly will be profitable and to steal would be dangerous. Thirdly, not to let Russia die spiritually."

Fedorov replies to one question, saying that the new constitution practically ensures the president two-thirds of the votes in the parliament since it stipulates that the presidential veto can only be overruled by two-thirds of the parliament. Such things should be modified, a right political balance should be established. Otherwise, a pseudo-democratic, authoritarian power will be established.

Bogomolov says that the party's economic program was published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA today. The party has made an in-depth analysis of the causes for the drop in industrial output and other signs of economic decline, and offers its own methods to confront inflation and other economic ills, such as more investment in industry.

Travkin says that it is important to have an honest government which would prevent national assets from being squandered. Therefore, the main task is to elect an honest and decent parliament which will make sure no dishonest men get into the government, or create laws that will make people's life worse than it already is.

Travkin urges listeners to go to the elections and cast their votes for any party of their choice, to exercise their democratic and civil right. He urges them to make sure that, above all, they are electing honest people, people of integrity. That is the only way they are going to have a parliament that will look after their interests.

DPR Platform Viewed

PM0912100593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

["Optimism Is Good, Realism Is Better"—Election Platform of the Democratic Party of Russia]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] is a confident and responsible political force. We are geared to creating a strong and democratic Russian state, a competitive market economy, and a civil society. We are championing a society in which security, human rights and freedoms, law and order, and a growth in prosperity are guaranteed.

The DPR is a party of realists. Even a small deed which really improves life is far better than radical global programs with vague prospects.

The DPR is in favor of real market reforms, rather than appeals for them. We are in favor of an evolutionary change in economic relations, and opposed to the reckless destruction of existing structures and the imposition of dogmatic schemes on society.

The DPR is a party of optimists. Despite the enormous costs incurred economically and morally as a result of the imposition of an alien reform schedule on Russia, Russians can live better. But state power should be responsible and predictable and rest on our fatherland's interests and economic expediency.

DPR deputies will defend the following principles in laws:

In the sphere of ensuring the personal security of citizens:

resolute and inevitable punishment for organizing armed and bandit formations;

the intensification of criminal responsibility for crimes against the lives, health, and property of citizens;

strengthening of the activity of the law and order organs and enhancement of their responsibility.

In the sphere of the economy:

an active industrial and scientific-technical policy to avert the destruction of the scientific-technical potential that has been accumulated and to enhance the competitiveness of the national economy, together with measures aimed at macroeconomic stabilization and the strengthening of the ruble;

giving priority to the agricultural sector by providing reasonable financial state support on basis of the principle "budget rubles will not go to everyone equally, but to those who work efficiently";

the provision of credit incentives for reforming kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and joint stock companies into smaller structures, turning the peasant into a real landowner;

support for the conversion of military industry through state purchases of new equipment, the financing of scientific-research work, and credit for expenditure on the development of new technologies;

the strengthening of the single, all-Russia market, the removal of barriers in the way of interregional movement of commodities and capital, the provision of incentives for an interregional cooperative system in production, and the formation of powerful production associations working in the Russian and foreign markets;

the transfer to free trade relations and the gradual formation of a common economic area with the CIS countries;

the provision of incentives for the economic self-employment of citizens through registration without preliminary permission [yavochnuyu registratsiyu] and preferential loans from local budgets;

simplicity, clarity, and stability in taxation;

the provision of incentives to extended reproduction by making investments and scientific-research products completely exempt from taxation.

In the sphere of social policy:

targeted social support on the basis of the creation of a network of trustee councils. The exemption from taxation of sums being paid into these councils;

the exemption from taxation of monies from non-budget funds of local organs of power being channeled into resolving social questions;

the development of the municipal property sector as a source of covering expenditure on the territory's social sphere;

granting local organs of power the right to introduce local taxes with a targeted social thrust. Mandatory public accounting to the population for the use of these resources;

a state program for the social protection of workers in education, culture, and health protection;

active state support for targeted housing construction programs, particularly for citizens with the right to privileges, young families, and servicemen;

restraint on the real price of housing by means of market mechanisms.

In the sphere of state building:

Our target is a single federative state ensuring equal rights to citizens throughout Russia's territory. A state which is incapable of preserving its integrity is also incapable of protecting the individual citizen;

the state's policy will strengthen the country's unity if the maximum rights and responsibility are transferred not so much to the components of the Federation as to the organs of local power of rayons and cities.

In the sphere of foreign policy:

Foreign policy should ensure the pursuit of our economic interests. Russia's political influence must be channeled into strengthening the positions of our enterprises in foreign markets, building up exports, removing discriminatory barriers, and strengthening trade and economic ties.

Our first range of interests is in constructing integrational relations within the CIS framework.

Agrarian Party Sets Out Election Program

PM0912111593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

["The Land is the Mother of Wealth. Election Program of the Agrarian Party of Russia"]

[Text] The "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association is seeking election to the State Duma on its list of deputies, who will pursue a principled and consistent course of restoring the political and economic might of the Russian state as an essential condition of a better life for all Russians. The deputies from our party, representing and upholding in parliament the interests of the peasantry, rural intelligentsia, and city dwellers involved in the agrarian sector, will help protect the Russian people's chief asset—its land resources—from being exhausted and squandered.

THE HEALTH OF THE NATION. In upholding the interests of the people who are ultimately responsible for providing society with food, we will revive and develop agro-industrial production and thereby seek to improve the structure of food provision for all strata of the population, supply Russians with a wide choice of ecologically pure food at an affordable price, and create healthy living conditions and a healthy environment for every Russian citizen.

STRONGER PROTECTION FOR PEOPLE'S LIVES AND DIGNITY. Each human being is a priceless state asset. Human dignity cannot exist without guaranteed social rights, and, above all, the right to work. In seeking to increase production, we will ensure the creation of a vast number of new jobs in the countryside and in the city and we will create conditions for the painless restructuring of the economy and the development of production that are capable of a flexible response to the market situation.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE RULE OF LAW. The Agrarian Party of Russia acts on the premise that the principle of social justice is possible only if working people are guaranteed a real right to choose the forms of management—forms of ownership of fixed production capital, with state, collective, and private ownership being equal before the law. It is necessary to destatize production capital, carry out genuine people's privatization, adopt a state program of protection for Russian commodity producers, above all rural ones, and increase production in all forms of management and ownership, which will make it possible to provide working people and entrepreneurs in the countryside and in the city with real conditions for active work.

But it must be proper state support for the needy and the helpess and for mothers, which will provide a healthy foundation for the younger generation, a peaceful old age, family well-being, generally available medical services, and a civilized standard of education.

In advocating the supremacy of the law and equality for all Russians before the law, we will seek persistently to halt the rampaging crime, corruption, and banditry and resolutely strengthen law-enforcement and judicial organs.

CULTURE AND SPIRITUALITY. The "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association intends to use the entire potential of the State Duma in order to revive the historic roots of the popular traditions of mutual respect and goodwill in relations among people of all nationalities.

We will seek to unite the entire intelligentsia in order to devise a comprehensive state program for the spiritual and cultural recovery of the nation.

THE LAND. The Agrarian Party of Russia will initiate the Federal Assembly's adoption of a law on land that will efficiently regulate land arrangements in the country as the basis of the development of a mixed rural economy, the fundamental principle being that the land will go primarily to those who work it.

We will seek to regulate the right of land ownership taking into account the demographic, natural climatic, and economic conditions in various regions of Russia, while ensuring a sensible mix of private and state forms of ownership.

We favor the free allocation of land to all inhabitants of cities and villages wanting to own and run private plots, grow fruit or vegetables, or construct a country home for their family, but we do not want land to become something that is mindlessly and recklessly bought and sold, a means of laundering capital that has been dishonestly obtained.

ECONOMIC REFORMS. While definitely advocating the need for thorough economic reforms in the country, the Agrarian Party of Russia favors a state-regulated transition to market relations and the creation of a civilized socially orientated market.

In parliamentary activity we intend to legislatively guarantee the principles and character of transformations in the agrarian sector of the economy, based on voluntary reform of the existing forms of management.

In carrying out privatization we will seek to support enterprises in accordance with the principle of preserving the integrity of production complexes (poultry farms, hothouse centers, stockraising complexes) and ensuring a sensible, economically advantageous mix of large, medium, and small enterprises and peasant and subsidiary plots. We believe it is necessary for the working people of economically weak farms and the members of their families to be under state tutelage until the future of these farms has been decided.

Our main tasks in parliament include ensuring healthy state protectionism for private farming so that it can be developed and shaped on a modern, civilized basis.

We consider it necessary to change certain aspects of foreign economic activity and consistently cut imports of food products that are traditionally produced in this country in sufficient quantities and use the available money to increase purchases of new technology, machinery and equipment, and raw material for the food and processing sectors of industry. The Agrarian Party of Russia will seek to sharply reduce the prices of foodstuffs by establishing valid parity for prices of industrial and agricultural products on the basis of restoring the purchasing power of grain in the internal market.

A cut in the tax on agricultural commodity producers, a lower trade markup on agricultural products, and also resources and services for the countryside; the eradication of the multiple speculative resale of agricultural products; fewer unwarranted food imports that lose the country money; the eradication of mafia structures in the markets, which are artificially raising prices. Our election platform can only be implemented given peaceful and democratic development and the preservation of Russia's state integrity.

'New Names,' 'Dignity and Charity' Seek Duma Seats

MK0912102093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 2

[Gleb Cherkasov report under the "Outsiders" rubric: "'New Names' and 'Dignity and Charity' Hope To Make It Into Duma and Get Down to Business"]

[Text] The "Russia's Future-New Names" bloc and the "Dignity and Charity" movement have held news conferences in Moscow. The electoral associations, which have not been among the favorites in the electoral campaign but which have nevertheless solved successfully the problem of collecting enough signatures, are continuing the battle for deputy seats in the State Duma and, to all appearances, they are full of optimism about their own prospects in the 12 December elections.

According to Mr. Mironov, who is third on the New Names list, the association has succeeded in "guessing right about the anti-bureaucratic sentiments prevailing in society, and to express them in their program." Vladimir Mironov thinks that "Moscow is far from being all of Russia," and said therefore that one should not judge about this or that association on the strength of polls among Muscovites. He assured those present that more than 5 percent of the voters are behind young politicians in some regions. It is apparently in this connection that Mr. Mironov called for launching a popular movement to move the capital from Moscow to any other city in order to "break the back of Moscow bureaucrats." In their turn, representatives of Dignity and Charity stated that they counted on the votes of the destitute and unprotected voters.

Touching on questions related to the passing of a new constitution, Vladimir Mironov voiced regret that the president did not hear New Names' wishes not to hold the referendum. In the face of Boris Yeltsin's clearly unyielding position, New Names are inclined to support the president's draft fundamental law. "This is a very bad constitution, but it should be passed or else things would be even worse." Representatives of New Names voiced the hope that the Federal Assembly would improve the constitution by, in particular, including in it the text of the Federation Treaty.

Nikolay Gubenko, Dignity and Charity leader, spoke against the passing of the new constitution, noting that it contains no social guarantees recorded in the previous constitution. The exponents of the interests of veterans and Chernobyl victims intend to get the necessary points restored and to "protect legislatively the rights of the destitute."

Speaking about possible coalitions in the State Duma, Aleksandr Karimov, spokesman for New Names, voiced the hope that young politicians would not be obliged to enter into a bloc with extremists—among whom Mr. Karimov is inclined to include Russia's Choice, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia—and would be able to agree with the Civic Union, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and the Yavlinskiy bloc. In his turn, Mikhail Turnov, cochairman of the Dignity and Charity movement, announced an agreement to form a bloc with those factions of the State Duma that intend to take up social protection issues.

Despite the poorly disguised optimism, both New Names and Dignity and Charity are not going to make a tragedy out of their possible failure in the elections. As Vladimir Mironov put it, as he addressed international observers, "These are far from the last elections, God willing; the Federal Assembly may last two years."

Various Leaders Cited on Election Issues

PM0912124993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature under the "Comments and Statements" rubric]

[Text] **Anatoliy Sobchak, Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms:**

"The undesirable but possible rejection of the Russian Federation Constitution at the referendum will wreck the legitimacy of the Duma and the whole Federal Assembly. If the referendum fails there will be no alternative but to transform the Federal Assembly into a Constitutional Assembly and instruct it to draft an acceptable text of a new Constitution."

Dmitriy Volkogonov, "Russia's Choice" electoral bloc:

"Russia's past is tragic but its future is uncertain. However, after the turn of the century our country can even expect an economic miracle.

"...The Army is an element of stability if certain critical situations develop in the country.... Russia has no specific enemies. It can develop military cooperation with all states."

Antonina Savchenko, independent candidate for the State Duma for No. 109 electoral district and deputy economic director of the "Metrovagonmash" Joint-Stock Company's Mytishchi Machine Building Plant:

"I share the anxiety of the mothers of soldiers who wound up in the trouble spots. My son Volodya served in the Army, too. I think that service in the Armed Forces must be compulsory for all men of appropriate age and health but they should only be sent to the trouble spots if they have previously agreed to in the terms of their contract.

"The serviceman—be he an officer, NCO, or private—is entitled to receive from the state reliable moral and material protection and support."

Political & Media Issues

Chernomyrdin To Be Released From Hospital 11 Dec

LD0912123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1205 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who has been hospitalised with a kidney stone problem, hopes to be discharged from hospital on Saturday [11 December] so that to come to the polls on Sunday.

He said that to reporters who interviewed him in hospital on Thursday. Last Saturday Chernomydin had an operation during which the kidney stone was crushed.

Medvedev Views Government Ties With New Parliament

LD0812183893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1502 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—"More than 200 former people's deputies of the Russian Federation and approximately the same number of former members of the USSR parliament are now campaigning for seats in the Russian Federal Assembly," chief of the Department for Territorial Affairs under the President's Administration Nikolay Medvedev told a press conference here today. "The new parliament will be far from an easy one and the government will find it hard to continue its course of reforms", he added.

Medvedev, who was a member of the previous Russian parliament, and who is now running for the Council of the Federation, believes that many former bureaucrats will be elected to the upper chamber, while the State Duma will be somewhat better in this sense, since it will be made up of representatives from parties and blocs.

Medvedev said that he would resign from his current job if he was elected to the new parliament, and would strive to make the entire new legislative body work permanently and on a professional basis. He said that an exception could be made only to the heads of Russia's constituent republics. "However," he stated, "the Federal Assembly should itself reach a reasonable decision on this score. The former Russian Supreme Soviet included more than one thousand deputies but only 70 or 80 of them had professionally engaged in law making. The rest used their mandates as a screen, often in their own selfish interests."

Medvedev claimed that the election campaign was now contested by candidates from four blocs—the "Russia's Choice" bloc, the Communist and Agrarian Parties, which are very similar, and the Zhirinovskiy party. "The bulk of the population regards all democrats as members of the 'Russia's Choice' bloc. They know very little about the other democratic parties, including the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc," Medvedev told ITAR-TASS. He drew this conclusion from his numerous trips across the country.

Further on News Conference

MK0912100093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 4

[Vladislav Dorofeyev report: "Presidential Administration Confident of Favorable Referendum Results"]

[Text] Nikolay Medvedev, chief of the Department for Territorial Affairs under the president's administration, at a press conference yesterday expressed his confidence in "a favorable outcome of the elections and the referendum on the draft constitution." He also confirmed that a number of republics are continuing a campaign against the new constitution, which deprives the republics of their legitimate right to secede from Russia.

Throughout the press conference Nikolay Medvedev repeatedly returned to the subject of strong authority. In his words, a genuine democracy is impossible in the country without "a dictatorship of law" and "a strong central authority." At the same time, Mr. Medvedev said that the presidential administration has drawn up a statement denouncing the unconstructive stance adopted by a number of the republics, which call for derailing the referendum on the draft constitution. In particular, he cited an example of chiefs of the Mordovian Agricultural Ministry, who urge their subordinates during working conferences not to turn out for the referendum on the constitution. In this connection the speaker gave an extremely negative assessment to pronouncements by leaders of Tatarstan, Tuva, and Kalmykia, who cited their own constitutions that entitle the republic to secede from Russia.

According to Medvedev, the system of state authority has been effectively inoperative in many regions for the past three years. A situation characterized by all-out arbitrariness of top leaders, who have had time to get accustomed to absolute power, has come about in the republics. This is precisely what has prompted their vituperations against the constitution, which does not provide for entering the Russian Federation or seceding from it. At the same time, Mr. Medvedev said that opinions of the republics' leaders do not mean that the voting on the draft constitution will be thwarted in the regions. This is why it can be expected that both the elections and the referendum will take place in the country as a whole. Otherwise, the country will slide back in its political development to where it was two or three years ago.

It was also estimated at the press conference that "Russia's Choice," the Russian Federation Communist Party, the Agrarian Party, and the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia have the best chances of success in the elections. According to information cited at the press conference, a total of 2,000 registered candidates include 206 former Russian deputies and 230 former USSR deputies, some of whom, in Medvedev's view, will definitely win parliamentary seats and, therefore, will be able to influence the Federal Assembly's activity. At the same time, it was stressed that there are too few lawyers, political scientists, and economists among the candidates. Nonetheless, Mr. Medvedev said, preliminary conclusions show that on the political side the new parliament will be more professional and, hence, more predictable than the former Supreme Soviet. Medvedev's last statement was embraced by Vladislav Zotin, president and prime minister of the Republic of Mariy El, who was present at the press conference. He said that both the elections and the referendum would take place in the republic without fail. In his view, however, the new draft constitution is provisional in nature, which is why the Federal Assembly will have to review a number of its provisions.

Calls For Regional Heads To Resign

LD0912031593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Nikolay Medvedev, chief of the Department for Territorial Affairs under the president's administration, has criticized speeches by individual republic heads. The new constitution does not provide for all sorts of exits from and entries into Russia, and the state will not permit any moves on the part of individual members of the federation. This we wish the whole world to know, Nikolay Medvedev said. According to him, a statement aimed at the heads of Tuva, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Kalmykia who, as Medvedev emphasized, have made irresponsible statements, is being prepared and will be revealed tomorrow. It is incumbent on these leaders to resign and, moreover, not to stand for the Federal Assembly.

Vorkuta Miners Determine To Continue Strike

LD0712141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta, Republic of Komi December 7 TASS—The indefinite strike begun by the Vorkuta miners on Monday morning, will go on despite the labour union's call to discontinue the stoppage. This was decided on Tuesday morning at an emergency meeting of representatives of the miners' unions with members of the city strike committee and the work collectives of Vorkuta.

Aleksandr Marmalyukov of the Independent Miners' Union said the decision was made because the miners have lost patience awaiting the government's promised "firm guarantees of timely payment of wages regardless of the sources of financing and contingencies of the consumers".

The miners also insist on practical realisation of the provisions included in the protocol signed by Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar at the November 27 conference after a heated discussion of the problems and demands of the Pechora coal field miners.

None of these demands has yet been met and wages are still owed the miners, as no resources have yet been transferred to Vorkuta to pay the miners for the fulfilment of their side of the agreement with the government. The strike will continue until these demands are met, ITAR-TASS was told.

All twelve mines of the Vorkuta Ugol association and three mine- building organisations, as well as equipment assembly workers are participating in the strike with a full stoppage of production, with the exception of supplies to Vorkuta itself and operations necessary to maintain the vital systems of the mines and enterprises. The mines are not shipping any coal to customers outside the city.

Chairman of the Komi Republic's parliament Yuriy Spiridonov, who is now running for a seat in the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, interrupted his electoral tour of the cities and districts of the republic and returned to Vorkuta to try and help settle the conflict between the miners of the Pechora coalfield and the Government of Russia.

Also today a commission from the city of Vorkuta is due to meet government representatives in Moscow.

Late on Tuesday representatives of the miners' trade unions, the city strike committee and work collectives plan another joint meeting to discuss the outcome of the meeting in Moscow and the situation in the mining region to decide on further actions of the striking Vorkuta miners.

Kuzbass Miners To Suspend Strike

LD0712202393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A joint sitting of the Independent Trade Union of Kuzbass Miners and Council of that region's Workers' Committees took place in Prokopyevsk in Kemerovo Oblast today. One issue was on the agenda: the attitude to a strike.

It was decided to support the decision of the operational headquarters of the Independent Trade Union of Mineworkers of Russia to suspend the strike on the basis of talks with the government and in view of the signing of a joint protocol.

Miners Union Calls Off Strike

PM0812131593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Leskov report: "Government and Miners Have Reached Accord, but Strike Has Not Been Called Off at All Mines"]

[Text] The leadership of Russia's Independent Miners' Union [IMU] and a government commission headed by First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar have reached agreement and signed a protocol calling off the miners' strike.

According to the latest information, up to 50,000 people involved in the extraction of approximately 15 percent of Russia's coal took part in the strike. Strikes were most hard-hitting in Vorkuta and Norilsk. However, the economic consequences of the strike will be minimal owing to its short duration. As IMU Deputy Chairman Sultan Mamedov told IZVESTIYA, agreement was reached on setting up an interdepartmental commission for restructuring [restrukturalizatsiya] the coal industry with the participation of trade union representatives. This commission is intended to resolve questions of the social protection of miners during the closure of loss-making enterprises.

In addition to the financial commitments previously assumed by the government, the question of the payment of budget arrears of wages has also been resolved favorably. At the same time, Gaydar has given a pledge to work on the question of settling within a legislative framework the problem of non-payments by coal consumers. At the present moment, money owed to the sector by the metallurgy industry alone exceeds 800 billion rubles. S. Mamedov stressed that the strike has merely been suspended, and it remains to be seen if the government manages to keep its promises.

However, as our correspondent Aleksandr Tretyakov reports from Vorkuta, despite the trade union leadership's decision, the miners of the "Vorkuta-Ugol" Association (12 mines) continue to strike. The strikers' coordination council has perceived the main reason for the trade union's opposition to the strike to be that its leadership is standing for election to the Federal Assembly. S. Mamedov rejected these accusations as unfounded. It has to be said that, even within the actual miners' collectives, there is no unity in respect of the strike. For instance, not a single one of the Kuzbass mines took part in the strike.

In addition to the protocol signed by Gaydar, the IMU has adopted a special document threatening collective action in the event of the protest organizers' being persecuted. And such a danger really does exist. It has been learned by the editorial office that, immediately after the strike was terminated, Aleksandr Bugayev, chairman of the Federation Council of Trade Unions of the Norilsk Mining and Smelting Combine, declared a hunger strike. He is protesting primarily against the administration's threat to dismiss those who took active part in the strike. Cuts in Norilsk are set to be massive—the extraction of nickel at the combine has fallen from 210,000 tones to 80,000 tonnes.

Vorkuta representatives have yet to meet with government members. Miners deny the political nature of the strike. However, with elections on the doorstep, there remains no doubt that social tension in the mining regions may prove highly dangerous for the "Russia's Choice" reformist bloc.

Government Agrees To Meet Most Demands

PM0912114993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Knyazkov report: "There Are Not Many Strikers, But...the Government Is Prepared To Meet 20 Out of 25 Miners' Demands"]

[Text] As we know, following the call of the Independent Miners Union [IMU], coal mining has been suspended at mines in the Vorkuta and Norilsk coalfields. According to information from Yuriy Malyshev, chief of the "Rosugol" State Company, IMU brings together approximately 5 percent of Russian coal industry workers, but the overwhelming majority of mining collectives have hitherto not supported the strike which has begun.

So what are the "mutinous" miners striving for? The main demands being put forward are the reconstruction of production, the payment of money owed on the basis of the old wage agreement and the elaboration of a new one, the provision of state guarantees of job placements for personnel affected by the closure of mines with no prospects, and others.

Despite the assumption made by certain observers that the government is taking a tough stance toward the miners, as stated by Yuriy Shatyrenko, Russian Federation deputy minister of labor, the government is prepared to meet 20 of the 25 demands by the strikers—that was the outcome of the talks between a government working group and the IMU which ended the day before. A number of demands remained unmet, since they went beyond the framework of the working group's powers. This primarily concerned demands to dismiss the Russian Federation minister of fuel and energy and his deputies "for causing the disintegration of the sector," or so the miners believe.

The government group also rejected the IMU's demand to discontinue the practice of keeping back miners' wages. Nikolay Antonov, chief of the "Rosugol" Joint-Stock Company Labor Relations Administration, noted at a meeting with journalists that the government has never delayed the transfer of subsidies going into wages. According to him, the problems arise because of large debts owed to the miners for coal that has been sold, but that is the fault of the customers, not of the government.

A sitting of the interdepartmental commissions which include representatives of the Russian Federation Committee for Metallurgy and the "Rosugol" Company was held 7 December. The leadership of the Russian Federation Committee for Metallurgy is pinning its main hopes for resolving the deadlock on prospects of forming financial-industrial groups of single-cycle enterprises, whose authority would cover questions of coal mining, coke production, the metallurgy industry, transportation, the regulation of the flow of finances, and the reduction of production in the face of new prices.

Rutskoy, Others To Remain in Custody

LD0812160793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Well informed sources told INTERFAX that those arrested in connection with the October 3-4 events in Moscow are to be kept in custody three months longer (former Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Security Ministry Viktor Barannikov, leader of Workers' Russia Viktor Anpilov and others are among them.) All are accused of organizing mass disorders in Moscow early in October. The term of preliminary investigation has been prolonged as well.

At the same time lawyers of those arrested told INTERFAX that the guilt of their clients had not been specifically defined and no investigation was being conducted.

Media, Groups Protest Closure of 'Russian Press House'

PM0812145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

["Protest Statement"]

[Text] The president of Russia has issued his latest edict abolishing one of the most important gains of democracy—the "Russian Press House." This is a continuation of the apparatus' attack on the independence of the mass media.

Entrenched within the structures of the president's administration, those former people's deputies who voted at congresses against the reforms have decided to destroy the headquarters of the democratic forces using the president's name and have once more put him in an ambiguous position.

Just two years ago the public not only in this country but also in the world fittingly assessed the president's good will gesture when he placed one of the best buildings in Moscow at the disposal of democratic publications. Dozens of newspapers and journals took up residence there, hundreds of journalists are working there, and a center of the democratic forces of the capital was created and is in permanent operation there, forces which played a tremendous role in the April referendum, the October events, and the collection of signatures in support of candidate deputies from the "Russia's Choice" movement and other democratic blocs and parties.

But today we are being turned out onto the street.

There are dozens of buildings in Moscow which could be found for the Federation Council. But the "Russian Press House" stuck in the throat of the nomenklatura opposition.

We appeal to all democratic forces in Russia, to our fellow journalists, and to the future deputies of the Federal Assembly: Help to stop this act of tyranny and protect Russia's independent, democratic press that exists in our country.

On the instructions of the editorial offices and public organizations working in the "Russian Press House": Radio "Ekho Moskvy," "KHRONIKA," "LITERATURNYYE NOVOSTI," "RUSSKIY INVALID," "NADEZHDA," "KAZACHIY KRUG," "GLAGOL," "SUDARUSHKA," "MOSKVICHKA," "VOYSKOVOY KRUG," "GOLOS," "SELSKAYA NOV," "SMENA," "NOVAYA YUNOST," "PUT K USPEKHU," "TSENTR PLYUS," "TRUD," "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA," "DELO," "ROSSIYSKOYE VREMYA," "ALTERANTIVA," "VECHERNIY KLUB," "PREZIDENT," "SVOBODNYY TRUD," "ILLYUSTRIROVANNAYA ROSSIYA," "EKHO KAVKAZA," "MOSKVA I ROSSIYA," the "MART" International Radio and Television Association, the Association of Independent Publishers, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the "Olma-Press" Publishing Firm, the "Russian Press" Association, the Association of Veteran Journalists of Russia, the Young Journalist School, Democratic Russia, the "Strategy" Center, A. Yaroshinskaya's "Chernobyl" Charitable Foundation, the "Et Cetera" theater in Moscow (artistic director A. Kalyagin), and the Foundation in Support of the First President of Russia.

New Journal Replaces NARODNYY DEPUTAT

PM0812173193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by V. Maslennikov: "Familiar Stranger"]

[Text] Perplexed subscribers to the well known journal NARODNYY DEPUTAT who had probably already dismissed it after the former Supreme Soviet ended its activity, have recently been extracting an unfamiliar publication from their mailboxes. On the white cover in bright blue letters are printed the words ROSSIYSKAYA FEDERATSIYA and below a strange number—No. 1 (13).

The address to readers which prefaces the journal explains that the new publication is being issued in place of the former NARODNYY DEPUTAT on whose basis it was founded by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's legal heir—the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government.

The journal ROSSIYSKAYA FEDERATSIYA like its predecessor will be published twice a month, attempting to combine promptness in covering the main problems of state life with depth and thoroughness in treating them.

Military & Space Issues

Armed Forces Chiefs Meet at Defense Ministry

Military Leadership Reviews Training

PM0812142993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Musters of Armed Forces Leadership Personnel: Results of Academic Year Summed Up"]

[Text] Musters of Armed Forces leadership personnel have been held in the Russian Defense Ministry's conference hall in Moscow, summing up the results of Army and Navy activity in 1993. During the musters the progress of military reform, the results of combat and operational training, the organization of troops' service, the state of troop discipline, and the social and consumer sphere were analyzed comprehensively.

Colonel General M. Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff, and A. Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, delivered reports on topical problems pertaining to the organizational development and training of the Russian Armed Forces.

The participants in the musters were addressed by Army General P. Grachev, Russian defense minister. He noted that by and large, despite the current difficulties and the complex sociopolitical situation in the country, most units and combined formations have succeeded in maintaining combat capability, manageability, and organization at the proper level. Compared with the previous year, definite positive changes have been achieved in combat and operational training and other spheres of the troops' life. However, the defense minister did point to unresolved problems and shortcomings and set Army and Navy leadership personnel specific tasks for the academic year. Security Council Secretary O. Lobov took part in the musters. (A report on the musters will be published in the next edition).

A scientific and practical conference entitled "Moral and Psychological Condition of Personnel and Improvement of Educational Work in the Russian Federation Armed Forces" was held within the framework of the musters. A report on it appears on the front page of this issue.

Grachev Addresses Chiefs

LD0812221793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Training sessions have been held at Russia's Ministry of Defense for the leading members of staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces. The progress being made in military reform was analyzed, and the results of the military training of the troops during 1993 was summed up. Issues such as the state of military discipline and social and living conditions in the Army and Navy were examined.

Army General Pavel Grachev, minister of defense, made a speech to the participants in the training sessions. He noted that, in spite of the difficulties that exist, the complicated socio-political situation in the country, most of the formations and units have managed maintain a fitting standard of fighting efficiency, manageability, and organization. Definite positive shifts have been achieved in battle and operational training and in other areas of the life of the troops compared with last year. After pointing out unresolved problems and shortcomings, the minister set the leading members of staff of the Army and fleet specific tasks for the new academic year.

Concern Voiced About Defense Industry

LD0812192793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The capacities of the Russian defence industry, which numbers 2,000 enterprises with 4.5 million employees, are presently used to 10-15 per cent only. Over 1.5 million high-qualified specialists quit the industry over the past several years. One in four enterprises do not have state-placed military orders.

These figures were made public at a conference "Problems of the Military Industrial Complex" which opened at the general staff's military academy on Wednesday. The conference is attended by government ministers, managers of defence-related enterprises, scientists and servicemen.

Head of the Russian Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission Mikhail Malei, deputy head of the State Committee for Defence Industry Boris Lapshov and other speakers at the conference expressed serious concern over the present state of the defence industry, especially its financial condition. In particular, it was noted that the Defence Ministry had run up a debt of over 350 bln roubles to enterprises of the military industrial complex.

Experts believe that the defence industry is capable of saving itself by entering more actively the world arms market.

Cooperation With CIS To Continue

LD0812220393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2003 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Russia will not be able to halt defense industry cooperation in the framework of the CIS for five to seven years, Deputy Chairman of the State Defense Industry Committee Boris Lapshov told a congress on defense industries held in Moscow Wednesday.

In his words, Russia is capable of manufacturing on its own as little as 17 percent of all weapons, even though it has inherited 80 percent of the Soviet defense factories.

About 4.5 Mn people are employed in approximately 2000 defense factories. Nearly 75 percent of the factories will be privatized within two years but, Lapshov emphasized, nearly 450, the most important among them, will remain in the hands of the state.

He said that over 300 Bn rubles, or six times the amount in 1992, had been invested into conversion of defense industries to civilian production. Unrestrained conversion has done significant damage to the Russian economy, however, because the financing of conversion programs was unstable and insufficient. In Lapshov's words, in 10 months of 1993 alone, the Defense Ministry owed the defense factories over 350 Bn rubles. As a result, defense production fell by 18.6 percent over the same period.

Further on Training Review, Draft

PM0912120793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Nikolay Poroskov report: "Time for Citing Difficulties Is Past. Initiatives and Quests for Reserves Are What Is Needed. Russian Armed Forces Sum Up Results of Year"]

[Text] We have already reported that the results of the training year have been summed up at a muster of Russian Armed Forces leadership personnel. Over 18 months have elapsed since the Russian Army and Navy were created. And, whereas during the first few months of their existence the failures could be ascribed to the "difficult legacy" left behind by their predecessors, to difficulties involved in the organizational period, today slipups and shortcomings must be laid at their own door. This idea echoed through the reports delivered to the gathering by Chief of the General Staff Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov and First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin and was also heard in speeches made by district troop commanders, main directorate chiefs, and army commanders.

The outgoing year was a year during which new laws were put into effect in the military sphere, along with the concept for the organizational development of the Armed Forces, and work began on implementing the provisions of the military doctrine. The organizational-staff structure and the troop command and control system were refined, a plan for use of the Armed Forces along with a mobilization plan were elaborated, and a vigorous process of optimizing the number of troops and their structure took place.

The redeployment of units and subunits to Russia is continuing. But there are still plenty of divisions, bases, and training centers—a total of over 100,000 servicemen—outside the country at the moment. The formation of groups of troops on Russian territory is proceeding in parallel with the troop withdrawal. Today command of the strategic nuclear forces is exercised from Russian territory alone.

Despite the political instability, holdups with funding, and the near-critical shortage of personnel, the Armed Forces performed their set tasks. This was demonstrated by the end-of-training performance evaluation, which was carried out exactingly without making any concessions. Some 15 Northern Fleet and one Pacific Fleet first rank ship, along with an air defense regiment, were rated excellent, while 38 percent of divisions and 47 percent of regiments received good evaluations. The Far East and Leningrad Military Districts, the Northern Fleet, Military Transport Aviation, and a number of Air Defense, Strategic Rocket Forces, and Air Forces combined units and units were recorded as having shown improvement.

At the same time, Col. Gen. Kolesnikov pointed out, current realities are not always taken into consideration when combat training plans among others are drawn up—namely, the level of funding and the shortage of manpower resources. The system of military registration has been breached in some areas and the importance of mobilization readiness is underestimated. Figures for draft resources in some oblasts have been understated by a factor of two. This constitutes an important reserve. There are others. If the draft plan is carried out on a volunteer basis—on contract—and the terms for deferring Army service are reviewed, and if the military commissariats perform their functions efficiently, next year the Armed Forces could be 95-percent manned.

Among shortcomings the chief of the General Staff pointed to the poor training of a number of commanders, poor knowledge of guidelines, hackneyed drills in some formations, the slow introduction of new technology particularly within the command system, and the alarming buildup of unserviceable equipment. The reduction in the professional and methodological level of certain officers is also marked, not all scheduled exercises are carried out, while the Air Force has reduced flying time and the Navy has drastically cut back the number of activities involving the use of weapons.

Regional command-staff exercises in the command and control of the strategic nuclear forces and aerospace defense, as well as strategic training directed by the defense minister, indicated the importance of all forms of regular combat training. They made it possible to considerably adjust the Armed Forces command system, revise plans for combat and mobilization readiness, clarify the strategy for Armed Forces operations, and, most importantly, carry out work in practice and not just on paper.

First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin dwelt on the problems of providing the troops with arms and military hardware as well as the state of and prospects for the defense industry. He noted that the Defense Ministry's debts to the military industry have reached 1 trillion rubles. There is a lack of money to repair and maintain equipment and arms and procure spare parts and storage batteries.

Procurement schedules in respect of all categories of arms are curving downward, sometimes to critical levels. Hence the percentage of new equipment is not what one would wish. The government has decided to leave funding of the arms program in 1994-1996 at this year's level. However, the Security Council intends to return to defense industry problems. A. Kokoshin stressed that steps are being taken to increase the funds allocated for research and development.

Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, delivered the closing speech. He described the political and economic situation in the country as complex, but nevertheless recommended that they should not be seen as the reasons for the current shortcomings; he instructed people to put an end to freeloading sentiments and stop looking to the center at any excuse and seeing it as a "feeding trough." The defense minister believes that even such an acute problem as the shortage of personnel can be resolved at local level. There are dozens of troop units that can painlessly be cut back so as to reinforce others in the main sectors. One cannot be strong in all sectors. It is necessary to be bolder in introducing the mixed principle of staffing and raise the number of contract servicemen to 30 percent of the total number of personnel. Contract personnel must be selected on a competitive basis and the admission of people who have a criminal record or who do not meet medical requirements ruled out. The new intake must be placed in key posts in combat units and subunits of the peacekeeping forces.

Attention will continue to be devoted to increasing the autonomy of commanders at all levels. Strategic training has shown that the command system must be reorganized and there is an objective need to centralize planning and command.

The minister stressed that time is making a priority of the task of creating mobile forces. A concept for these forces must be formulated first. And it is necessary to start by creating in every district fully-manned, well-trained units, prepared to go to any part of the country within a short period. The means of building up combat effort in specific strategic areas must also be improved. The situation also requires that the development of military transport aviation be considered a priority.

The defense minister noted that military science is not very involved in questions pertaining to planning, developing the concept for the reform and organizational development of the Armed Forces, improving the structure of groups of forces on Russian territory, and resolving other problems. Full use must be made of scientific potential.

Army Gen. Pavel Grachev set the tasks for 1994-1995, the main one being to maintain the combat readiness and combat capability of the Russian Armed Forces at a level guaranteeing the state's military security in all conditions and train troops to wage both active defensive and offensive operations, including on enemy territory. The methods of operational troop deployment must also be improved. The defense minister dwelt in particular on the problem of replacement personnel. Everything must be done to ensure that the draft plan is fulfilled to the maximum.

A plan has been drafted for the organizational development of the Armed Forces during the post-1995 period. By that time the Army should be totally concentrated within Russia—with the possible exception of certain bases posted by mutual accord with interested states. Only on that condition will it be possible to formulate a corresponding concept for organizational development.

Today the withdrawn units are being stationed mainly in the Moscow, North Caucasus, Leningrad, and Volga Military Districts. But that does not mean, the defense minister stressed, that new military towns must be built. On the contrary, given the cuts that are under way a better option is to sell existing property and invest the money in expanding the infrastructure and housing construction. The task today is to improve what we already have. Administration heads, who are to join military structures as members of district and association military councils, can play a tremendous role in resolving the problems that arise. This constitutes civilian monitoring of and aid for the Army.

Army Gen. Pavel Grachev said that one of the main tasks today and in the future is to save material and financial resources. The priorities here are as follows. First, pay for servicemen, workers, and employees. The defense minister gave orders for all wage arrears to be wiped out in December and for a one-shot monetary bonus to be paid this month. Then comes payment for heat, electricity, and food. And housing construction is sacrosanct. A program to supply servicemen with housing through the year 1995 has been formulated and around 20,000 apartments are to be commissioned every year. What is more, the defense minister stressed, every officer must have a plot of land. There should be no problems with this—vast areas of land are being freed up as units are disbanded and certain testing grounds are eliminated, and anyone can build themselves a home—not just officers.

Savings must also be made by reducing tours of duty to the troops, particularly from the central apparatus, by improving the existing material base rather than building a new one, and by seeking internal reserves. One way is to cut back small self-duplicating military organizations and stop efforts and funds being dissipated.

Methods need to be urgently improved and new forms of tactical exercise sought, as is happening in leading units. Teamwork training is coming to the fore in fully manned subunits, and individual training in units that are not at full strength. Nor must the tried and tested form of the demonstration field training exercise be forgotten.

Next year will be a year when new military regulations are studied and introduced. The defense minister warned against making any adjustments to them. What is more, with the appearance of the regulations it will no longer be necessary to send the troops a large number of additional instructions and directives, never mind those that contravene regulations. Tests on the regulations will be taken twice during the training period.

The next training year starts 1 January, but in the future it may be advisable, the minister stressed, to once again begin training 1 December. May marks the gap between training periods, and it is advisable to carry out end-of-training troop evaluations once a year—in September or October—in order to prepare the training base for the new year in November.

The defense minister focused attention on the inadmissibility of people being injured or killed and warned against panic over the alleged preparations for mass discharges from the Army—these sentiments were unfounded. The figure of 1.5 million, Army Gen. Grachev stressed, came from within the former Supreme Soviet and would quite likely be adjusted. As would, moreover, the 11 laws on the Armed Forces. Seven new draft laws had been prepared.

Among other tasks the defense minister cited those of implementing the concept for military-patriotic training based on the best military traditions, boosting social-state training to a higher level designed to foster lofty moral and psychological qualities, and effecting a most speedy transition to new, approved emblems.

The main commissariats of branches of the Armed Forces summed up results 8 December.

Kokoshin Addresses Meeting

PM0912113393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Russian Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate report: "Priorities of the Arms Program"]

[Text] Within the framework of the conference that is being conducted by the Russian defense minister, Army General Pavel Grachev, with leading personnel of the Armed Forces on the results of 1993, a meeting of the Military Council of the Ground Forces has been held involving the commanders of armies and chiefs of Defense Ministry central and main directorates.

First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin took part in the session of the Ground Forces Military Council, where questions of financing and the material and technical supply to the Armed Forces were discussed as well as the priorities of the long-term Armaments Program.

Shakhray: Military Doctrine Tied to Constitution

LD0812220593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Was it justified to adopt the fundamentals of the military doctrine of Russia before the referendum on the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation? After all, the country's constitution should determine the fundamentals of the state's military policy as well. The Slavyanka correspondent put this question which is worrying many listeners to Sergey Shakhray, Vice Premier of the Russian Federation Government. This is what he replied:

[Begin Shakhray recording] Both the draft constitution and the military doctrine were drawn up by the same people. Therefore there is no need to talk about contradictions in these documents. Only in the event of the constitution being rejected during the referendum will the doctrine become an issue. The absence of a constitutional base will mean the state is threatened with collapse and disintegration. Therefore, after the constitution has been adopted, the fundamental clauses of the military doctrine will not need to be altered. The work will simply continue on the doctrine itself, on the concept of security and on such important trends as mobilization plans. [end recording]

Problems in Navy's Northern Fleet Viewed

PM0912102993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Vladimir Gundarev: "Northern Fleet Is Russia's Best Fleet. But Today That Is No Longer Enough"]

[Text] "The Northern Fleet today is the best in the Russian Navy for many indicators. I want it to become truly the best with no reservations." With these words Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Navy, summed up the end of training period performance evaluation of the Northern Fleet for 1993 which was held under his leadership.

The results of the evaluation showed that the tasks set the fleet for 1993 have mainly been fulfilled, including combat service and combat duty plans. And they were more strenuous than last year. The increase in the number of combat service tours and tours of duty can be explained in particular by the fact that the reduction of nuclear weapons and arms on dry land has caused priorities in ensuring nuclear deterrence to be transferred to the naval forces.

This year the Northern Fleet's submarines carried out about 20 combat service voyages and the latest nuclear submarines made two trips to the Northeast Atlantic. A hunter-killer group performed combat service tasks in the Mediterranean. Detachments of warships and individual ships took part in six official visits to foreign ports. In September the sophisticated nuclear submarine Kasatka sailed under the Arctic ice floes to the Pacific Fleet. The submariners have tracked dozens of foreign submarines in the fleet's zone of responsibility and the duration of tracking has increased several times over, and in individual cases has lasted up to six days and more.

The Northern Fleet seamen have prepared and conducted about 50 command post, tactical, and tactical air exercises. Because of the shortage of material resources attention has been stepped up toward base training and the number of base exercises was in excess of 200. But that does not mean that the ships were standing at anchor. After careful preparation at the bases they went to sea where new tactical methods of using missiles and other weapons were rehearsed.

Nonetheless, the economic crisis could not fail to affect the fleet's combat training activity. Aircraft have turned out to be its most vulnerable spot. The fleet's pilots fulfilled barely half of the combat service plan. And its efficiency declined drastically compared with last year.

The fleet's forces afloat also have many problems. It is simply that they are less noticeable from the shore. It seems that the ships have become frozen at the docks only for a moment. In reality it is not so easy to get them away from the shore. Many have been removed from the effective combat strength before time because of the lack of repair facilities. This year the Northern Fleet was according to plan to have prepared 11 surface ships and the same number of submarines for sale. The large ASW ship Kronshtadt has been sold to India for scrap, and the large ASW ships Admiral Isachenkov, Admiral Yumashev, and Admiral Makarov and the destroyer Gremyashchiy have been prepared for dispatch there. Next in line are the cruiser Murmansk and the large ASW ship

Soobrazitelnyy. Despite the fact that the fleet forces have been almost halved over the past two years the remaining ships are provided with only 22 percent of the necessary ship repair services. Malfunctions are consistently accumulating so with every passing year more effort has to be put into maintaining the combat ships' technical readiness.

Virtually all the Northern Fleet seamen's voyages in the outgoing year were backed up by the tanker Dnestr, which has proved to be virtually the only tanker in the fleet capable of resolving the tasks of providing rear services for the ships in combat service. The number of service craft meets only 58 percent of the fleet's minimal requirements. Over 40 percent of auxiliary ships are long due to be written off and removed from the Northern Fleet forces because of their technical state and the inexpediency of repairing them (these are ships built in the fifties and sixties). The repair deadlines have passed for almost half the ships. Crews on such ships have more work yet they receive less than their counterparts from the Murmansk maritime steamship company. So cadres turnover is increasing. Staffing of the fleet's auxiliary ships with workers and employees is on average about 70 percent and on individual ships with hard working conditions it is below the average.

The complacency of warrant officers and officers, the rise in apathy and indifference toward their career is becoming a problem. The majority of officers have turned in on themselves, do not visit the seamen's crew quarters, do not receive reports on acute issues, and avoid them in talks with their subordinates. The nonoperation of the laws on the social protection of servicemen, regular delays in paying wages, the understaffing and consequent excessive work load have an adverse effect on morale. For instance, instead of a 41-hour week officers and warrant officers must spend up to 100 hours and more on the ships in dock. People grow tired morally, psychologically, and physically. Perhaps this was the reason why they did not manage to avoid deaths among the personnel this year, although they were lower than last year.

Because of the complex sociopolitical situation in the country and the delay in resolving socioconsumer issues, the cadres problem remains one of the most acute in the fleet. Despite the fact that through the joint efforts of the command and the cadres organs the number of officers released into the reserve ahead of schedule was successfully reduced fourfold in 1993, the flow of separation requests is not drying up. Over the first 10 months of the year over 600 more men were released and half of them were under 30. At the same time over 3,600 officers' posts remain vacant.

It is hard. Nonetheless the ships are going to sea, the fleet is fulfilling its tasks in defending Russia's interests in the North and the Western hemisphere. Over 90 percent of surface ships, 88 percent of submarines, and 87 percent of shore-based units finished the year without incident. Under the very hard economic and climatic conditions of service people have not lost their sense of responsibility for themselves, for the fleet, of for the Fatherland whose interests they are defending. Admiral Gromov noted that.

The Navy commander in chief set the task of carefully examining and resolving the question of restoring the Northern Fleet tankers. There are no plans to reduce the number of combat services and duty tours for next year. In particular it will be necessary to ensure the combat service of the fleet's flagship—the heavy aircraft-carrying cruise Admiral Flota Sovetskogo Soyuza Kuznetsov. In Admiral Gromov's opinion the radius of the voyages by this unique cruiser should not be restricted to the fleet's zone of responsibility, it must set sail for the oceans.

In connection with the fact that the United States and Britain do not support Russia's initiative to create a zone of trust in the Barents Sea the submarine forces must increase the time spent tracking foreign submarines in their zone of responsibility. Intensiveness must increase and there must be a qualitative improvement in combat training so that seamen as before can hold high the brand name of their modern, nuclear-powered, ocean-going fleet. The best in Russia.

Missiles, Submarines, Aircraft To Go for Scrap

LD0912102593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Two thousand strategic missiles of various classes, 100 submarines, 5,000 aircraft and helicopters, 1,000 units of armored equipment, and a large amount of ammunition, are to go for scrap. It is estimated that the cost will be ten trillion rubles. However, the metals obtained during the processing of the military equipment, including nonferrous and precious metals, electronic equipment, optical instruments, communications systems, and so forth, may well recuperate the outlays.

These figures were cited today at a conference on the problems of the military industrial complex which is being held at the General Staff military academy. Taking part in its work are members of the government, heads of defense enterprises, scientists, and servicemen.

Debt Causes Close-Down of Plesetsk Cosmodrome Systems

LD0912013593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Dec 93

[V.Loyter report from Arkhangelsk; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The fact that the enterprises of the Severodvinsk military-industrial complex are permanent debtors of Arkhenergo has already become the talk of the town. The government has run up debts with the Russian Center of Nuclear Shipbuilding running into billions and has turned the shipbuilders into persistent defaulters. But not only the enterprises are suffering from this. Because of nonpayments, suppliers stopped the supply of fuel oil to Arkhenergo on 21 November. The temperature in the heat supply networks of Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk had to be lowered by 10-15 degrees, something that the inhabitants of both towns are suffering.

But news that at the Plesetsk cosmodrome auxiliary systems were disconnected became the sensation of the day. If the debt of 1.5 billion rubles is not paid off, the power engineering workers have decided to disconnect the launch pads from which rockets with satellites are launched into space.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Taxing Land Sales

LD0812151093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1017 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 8 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a edict "On taxation of the sale of land plots and other transactions involving land."

The text of the edict, circulated by the president's press service today, indicates that for the purpose of regulating taxation of the sale of land plots and other transactions involving land prior to the adoption of a Russian Federation law regulating the taxation of such operations, the president resolves:

"1. to establish that when buying and selling, citizens selling a land plot or land share pay tax in accordance with the Law of the Russian Federation 'On income tax from physical persons,' while legal persons pay tax in accordance with the Law of the Russian Federation 'On tax on profits of enterprises and organizations.'

"When a land plot is bequeathed or given as a gift, taxation is carried out in line with the Law of the Russian Federation 'On taxation from property bequeathed or transferred in the form of a gift.'

"2. The Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation—is to draw up a draft law of the Russian Federation regulating the taxation of the sale of land plots and other transactions involving land in the first quarter of 1994.

3. This edict is to be submitted for examination by the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.

4. This edict comes into force on publication."

Further on Yeltsin Edict

LD0812151593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday [8 December] issued a decree imposing tax on all land transactions.

His press office said the tax was chargeable in keeping with the country's income tax law. A 12% tax is imposed on combined annual earnings of less than Rbs [rubles] 1 Mn [million]. Annual income between Rbs 1 Mn and Rbs 2 Mn entails a tax of Rbs 120,000 plus 20% of any sum exceeding Rbs 1 Mn. Any income above Rbs 2 Mn leads to a tax of Rbs 320,000 plus 30% of any sum in excess of Rbs 2 Mn. The tax is charged on the basis of a declaration of earnings that each land seller must submit to the tax inspectorate.

However, corporate land sellers are expected to pay a 32% tax on land transactions to 45% by stock exchanges and brokers' companies in line with the appropriate tax legislation.

Yeltsin's Edict on Trading in Gold Prepared

MK0912091093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 4

[AEN report under the "In Brief" column: "Gold Can Be Traded, But Only in Russia"]

[Text] According to Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, the Russian president's edict setting out rules for trading in gold on Russia's domestic market is up for signature. The right to operate on the domestic market will be granted to commercial banks, legal entities, and individuals. But no one will have the right to take gold out to the foreign market.

Boris Fedorov noted that the production slump this year would amount to 12 percent, while the approved budget for the fourth quarter would not exceed the planned deficit of 5.5 trillion rubles [R], or 10 percent of GNP. The additional trillion rubles was found with the help of the Central Bank of Russia.

On 17 February, Fedorov is to meet with G-7 representatives to discuss plans for Russia's economic development after the elections.

It was pointed out at the same time that the government's policy is geared to the maximum reduction of restrictions for export and import. Notably, 90 percent of foreign trade operations should fall on other than state structures.

Fedorov also advised that Belarus and Ukraine would be granted credits (of up to R400 billion) but that these are expressly for paying what they owe for energy.

Bank of Russia Denies Rumors of Money Reform

MK0912092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Bank of Russia Press Service report in the "In Brief" column: "We Shall Not Get Rich on Illusions"]

[Text] Publications have appeared in some media outlets recently suggesting that in the very near future a money reform will be carried out, with the current 1993 series

Bank of Russia banknotes being exchanged at a rate of 10 to 1 or 100 to 1, while metal coins will be kept in circulation at their par value. Following this, in a number of the country's regions instances have been reported of declining coin supplies in circulation owing to hoarding. The Bank of Russia Press Service, relating with understanding to the dreams and aspirations of certain mass media organizations to make citizens rich overnight, nonetheless deems it necessary to state that these illusions, and moreover actions to fulfill them, will do nothing but create problems with small change for themselves and others.

Zaveryukha Assails Finance Ministry Agriculture Plans

LD0812183793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's agrarian sector has failed to ensure radical changes and overcome recession largely through the fault of the slow-moving banking system, Vice-Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha told Russian and foreign journalists on Wednesday.

He said that the government and the processing enterprises had not paid off their debts to producers despite the government's numerous promises.

The debt which the state owes to agriculture for the grain already supplied amounts to 600 Bn [billion] rubles and for livestock another 600 Bn rubles. Moreover, the agricultural sector has not received about 800 Bn rubles of the total sum allocated to it from the federal budget.

Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who is in charge of agriculture in the Russian government, believes that the leaders of the Finance Ministry "do everything they can to paralyze agriculture and related industries which, to quote Boris Fedorov, remains a 'black hole' for this ministry."

"If they really claim to be reformers and advocate the development of private farming in Russia, why have they given the farmers only 34 percent of the sum reserved for them in the state program?" said Zaveryukha.

He said that the finance minister did not attend all of the government's sessions. It is not surprising that Fedorov is not informed of the Cabinet's decisions to support the agrarian sector or of the favorable credits granted to it in accordance with the presidential decree, he continued.

The Finance Ministry's attempts to picture the current economic situation and the ongoing closures of once prosperous enterprises as the beginning of stabilization are absurd. This points to the utter absence of knowledge of the Russian economy, said Zaveryukha.

Finance Minister on Central Bank Faults

OW0712103993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Studio interview with Finance Minister Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Lomakin] I am happy to introduce another one of our guests—the last one this morning, Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov, Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation. I am very happy that he came and that he is participating in the "Utro" program, since I feel that members of the government are somehow avoiding it.

[Fedorov] But they watch it.

[Lomakin] Thank you, that says quite a lot. Boris Grigoryevich, my first question, which I think is the most important one: It seems to me that the greatest evil today, you must agree, is inflation. As far as I know, [Bank of Russia President] Gerashchenko said that by the end of the year inflation would amount to 1,000 percent. I imagine you will not argue with this figure.

[Fedorov] Well, we have statistics.

[Lomakin] Yes, but what solutions would you suggest in order to somehow stop or slow down this inflation?

[Fedorov] In parliament, I cited Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov who wrote correctly in his books when he was still an economist that under conditions when there is a high rate of inflation there are only two ways to fight it—to increase income and decrease spending. I adhere to this principle, although of course Ruslan Imranovich copied it down from somewhere, probably from a Western economist who he later vilified. So from a purely budget point of view, we must naturally live within our means. This is particularly important in our country, since our entire deficit is covered not by borrowing from those who believe in the government—I mean through bonds or securities—but we take it from the Central Bank. Naturally, what the Central Bank does is create money from the air, and one does not have to be an economist to understand that if there is such a mass of goods and so much money—and the quantity of money is increasing—that prices will rise.

[Lomakin] Where are the printing presses?

[Fedorov] The printing presses? This is really a conditional thing. All the money is printed, ordered, produced, and published by the Central Bank. Formally, the plant itself belongs to the government.

[Lomakin] What do you think, Boris Grigoryevich? Is the Central Bank fulfilling the functions it is supposed to fulfill as the country's central financial organization?

[Fedorov] Absolutely not, I think. One simply needs to take a copy of the law and look at what it says about the functions of our Central Bank. The main and most important function in any country, particularly ours, is to protect the national unit of currency, maintain stability, and fight inflation. Since our Central Bank stubbornly refuses, this is not being done. Then there is the function of settlement between the bank and the government. We have been forced to establish an exchequer, since the Central Bank has refused to fulfill this function. There is also the bank of banks function, a normal mechanism for refinancing commercial banks. There is no final creditor. And so forth. You have probably heard the directors of enterprises complaining about payment transactions.

Take currency controls. How many malefactors have we caught? How many billions have been returned from overseas? How many hard currency stores in Moscow have been closed for refusing to accept rubles? None! So what functions is it fulfilling? I have no idea.

[Lomakin] Should some special structure or service be established?

[Fedorov] There is no need to create anything new. We already have everything. There is the law and we have these services. It is quite simple. The Central Bank stubbornly refuses to fulfill the functions of the Central Bank.

[Lomakin] What do you think, Boris Grigoryevich? Is the Central Bank independent of the government, or is it dependent in some way?

[Fedorov] Since 21 September, when the parliament ceased to exist, it has been dependent, since Edict No. 1400 Article 12 makes it accountable. Its accountability does not mean that somebody issues orders. It is a temporary arrangement. I have always supported the earliest formation of a new Parliament because of course this situation, if it drags on for a long time, could lead to poor results. In other words, we would try—rather, somebody in the Government would try—to turn the Central Bank into the former USSR State Bank and simply take money from it.

However, in reality the question is paradoxical in the sense that by law our Central Bank has been given maximum independence—more than in most Western countries, by the way—yet it does not make use of it.

[Lomakin] It does not want to or cannot?

[Fedorov] Most of the managers, apparently for some profound principles or beliefs, do not want their organization to be the Central Bank. I would not say all of them—there are many good people, specialists and professionals among them—but the majority of them.

[Lomakin] Boris Grigoryevich, the dollar has now become such a permanent part of our daily lives — despite the fact that transactions with it will be terminated in connection with the corresponding rulings—that it is very difficult to somehow figure out our lives in rubles. Our lives are presently computed in dollars. Nevertheless, I would like to recall your words which you said just under a year ago: The present distorted exchange rate does not reflect the country's potential. Is this still your opinion?

[Fedorov] You have probably noticed that we have achieved certain successes this year, and the exchange rate has gotten significantly closer to a parity with purchasing power, or to reality. Now you understand that if the exchange rate has changed—say by 10 percent since June, or in about half a year, while prices have increased during this time by a factor of two and a half or three—then naturally the ruble has become considerably more stable. Nevertheless, I personally think that this is not the yet the limit, and essentially the structural reorganization is just beginning. In other words, our domestic prices are approaching world prices in many areas, and the process wherein the efficiency of enterprises needs to be raised is beginning. But this process has not yet been completed. Naturally, if you figure out our GNP or budget using this exchange rate, what you get is far from the real state of affairs that we have.

[Lomakin] Nevertheless, Boris Grigoryevich, as far as I know, oil, gas, and some metals are being sold, as far as I know, precisely on account of the differences that we have here in the ruble market and in the world market. How quickly will this difference be eliminated?

[Fedorov] This difference is being eliminated very quickly. There is a somewhat specific situation in the power engineering sphere, insofar as all oil producing countries normally have far lower domestic prices. In the United States, for instance, gasoline is three times cheaper than in the United Kingdom. Already, with today's exchange rate, neither aluminum, fertilizers, nor many metals which yesterday were being dumped on world markets—in fact we distorted the world market by doing this—are being dumped in this way now. There are many complaints already. Previously, we were criticized for understating our ruble. Now we are being criticized for overstating it. For instance, it is no longer profitable for the state to buy gold, since it sometimes costs more in our country than at world market prices.

This situation is developing very rapidly. Very significant changes have occurred—literally in just a few months. Naturally, domestic fuel prices will be lower for several more years.

[Lomakin] Boris Grigoryevich, I would like to turn to the near abroad, as people like to say today. Where do you think the exchange rate came from when one or several of these republics have adopted their own currency systems and have established exchange rates against the ruble and the dollar, in which the national currency is far more expensive than the ruble? Is this realistic or not?

[Fedorov] It is only relatively more expensive, since in actual fact the face value is changed simply by removing a few zeros. They then pretend that their currency is stronger. Second, only the market will show which is stronger and what is realistically more significant. In fact, we do not have to look too far. We can see how many times over the Ukrainian national currency has depreciated.

Nevertheless, all of these countries naturally try to put on a good face when they introduce their national currencies, because they want to start out with something more substantial. But I am not afraid to declare that essentially, with the exception of the Baltic countries, the Russian ruble is the strongest currency of the states of the former USSR. We have one of the lowest inflation rates and we have the least number of problems when compared to these states. This is why they are all keen to either join our zone or get rubles. All of them are obtaining credits—in fact, the line for them is very long. Yet for some reason none of these countries is giving us credits.

[Lomakin] Yet as far as I know you are nevertheless fulfilling your strategic program of making the ruble reliable, stable, and a standard for the whole of the CIS.

[Fedorov] Of course. I think that this is the only thing that will have a real influence on the life of every person. What is the use of talking about production or other economic parameters? Who cares about this? After all, what concerns you is what you have in your pocket, what you can find in the nearest store, and what you have in your refrigerator. Can you buy a car? Can you go on vacation? Or can you save up for a dacha? This is what worries people in any country of the world, regardless of its system, and only this will serve as a realistic measure of the success of economic reforms. This is precisely why we are striving for higher interest rates in the Savings Bank. If the people in our country do not have savings, there will be no investments for enterprises. There is a direct relationship. In the same way, if we have a strong ruble, we will have a strong economy.

[Lomakin] My last question: Boris Grigoryevich, do you consider yourself to be a politician?

[Fedorov] To a certain extent a minister is always a politician, and in this sense I have to take part in certain processes. However, I pray to God that in the coming two years we will have to deal as little as possible in pure politics and deal more with specific economic matters.

[Lomakin] That is precisely why I would like to quote what you said half a year ago: There is only one policy—a financial policy. If it is not any good, all other policies will lead to failure. Do you agree?

[Fedorov] Absolutely. I am not denying what I said.

[Lomakin] Thank you, Boris Grigoryevich. I think everybody was very pleased and interested in my conversation with a very interesting man—Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov, Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation. Thank you.

[Fedorov] Thank you.

Fedorov Holds News Conference on Economic Prospects

PM0812154593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Irina Savvateyeva report: "Finance Ministry: Life Will Be Better Next Year"]

[Text] The year 1993 is coming to an end. The time to summarize results is approaching. Which is what Finance Minister Boris Fedorov did at yesterday's news conference:

"All the preconditions have been created to ensure that the situation considerably improves next year."

According to Fedorov the preconditions consist of the following: The rate of fall in production decreased considerably compared with last year and was 12 percent in the outgoing year; the exchange rate stabilized (according to the Finance Ministry leader's forecasts it will stay at a level of 1,200 rubles [R] plus or minus 5 percent until the end of the year; the budget deficit was fixed by the government at 10 percent of gross domestic product. The last thing means that the printing press will not start operating with renewed vigor, driving up inflation. Incidentally, price increases in November were 15 percent—this is the lowest figure for the entire year.

What else? Here are a number of curious details reported by Mr. Fedorov.

The Finance Ministry proposes that from 1 January the Central Bank stop giving credit to enterprises and engage exclusively in regulating commercial banks' activity (which is what in fact all state banks the world over are engaged in). It is proposed to make economic payments only via the budget.

The Finance Ministry leader is not ruling out a reduction in the credit interest rate next year if the rate of price increases continues to fall. This will become possible once the monthly inflation rate is 12-13 percent.

The Finance Ministry will pursue a policy of further reducing export quotas. At the same time it will act against an excessive increase in import duties. "Because the objective of protectionism must be achieved within the framework of what is sensible, and people must not be forced to wear clothes and buy things which they do not like."

On the whole Fedorov promised that 1994 will be a year of "savings, investment, and structural reorganization of the economy." Unless, of course, Zyuganov and "mad" Zhirinovskiy get into power. Unless the government's economic strategy changes. Apparently the Finance Ministry leader is by no means ruling out the latter:

"The pressure from various sector lobbyists is too great and there are too many people saying: Let us print another 2-3 trillion—what is wrong with that?"....

Fixed Capital Revaluation Decree Viewed

PM0812145393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Velichenkov: "Fixed Capital Has Been Indexed but Voucher Has Been 'Forgotten'"]

[Text] It is hard to exaggerate the timeliness of the government decree on revaluing fixed capital. Industry will enter the new year of 1994 with a normal technical capital composition (the correlation between fixed production capital and working capital) and will be able to produce realistic depreciation allotments and provide a substantial addition to the state coffers with a tax on property.

But there is also something contradictory which has not been successfully resolved. The impulsive indexing once in 16 months cannot fail to give rise to the feeling that the economy is chasing its own tail, which is constantly disappearing. This measure is not making anyone a single ruble richer in real terms.

How to break this circle? There is a feasible half-measure—quarterly or, better, monthly indexing in accordance with the declared official inflation index. There is also a stronger measure—not carrying out revaluation at all but giving enterprises the right to resolve this problem themselves. The majority will use this freedom immediately to rush to double or increase tenfold the cost of their fixed capital. But they will realize very quickly that excessive depreciation allotments and excessive taxes will lead only to an increase in expenses. After six months or a year every normal enterprise will understand what it is really worth if only at the level of its real profitability norm.

There is one further subtext which indicates why impulsive revaluation is dangerous. The present decree and last year's similar decree definitively finish off the voucher and its purchasing power, that is the real proportion of fixed production capital acquired for vouchers at Soviet wholesale prices in industry in 1987 (approximately 1 trillion and at most 1.5 trillion rubles) will drown in the sea of the working capital which is circulating and whose volume could exceed 50 trillion rubles by the end of the year.

It is that which explains why the voucher is not increasing in worth even at the pace of inflation. If the government's task is real privatization, then each impulsive revaluation of fixed production capital should be followed by a revaluation of vouchers. According to the inflation index of the two recent decrees on the revaluation of fixed production capital, the voucher's price should now be 1 million rubles.

The combination of two measures—the revaluation of vouchers and the right to an independent revaluing of fixed production capital by enterprises themselves—will have a stimulating effect on the stock market. Here the government will be spared the worry of what coefficient to place in which square of the table when making the next revaluation of fixed production capital, while local subdivisions of the State Committee for the Administration of State Property will cease to cudgel their brains over what kind of "stew" they have put together from fixed production capital at 1987 prices and current working capital, whether it is "thicker" or "thinner," and what to do with the astronomical profits of the enterprises which mount up with such approaches.

There is one more problem caused by impulsive revaluation of fixed production capital. It is highly disadvantageous to take out credit against property if it runs out immediately before a revaluation and it is very advantageous to do so if a credit deadline expires soon after revaluation..

'More Than Tight' Fourth-Quarter Budget Adopted

PM0812141193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Petr Pavlov report: "Better Late Than Never. Country's Budget for Fourth Quarter Has Been Composed"]

[Text] Following lengthy discussion, the Russian Government has finally approved the country's budget for the fourth quarter of this year. A considerable amount of work was done, since it was necessary to make provision for urgent repayment of treasury debts to a number of sectors of the national economy within the framework of a single budget blueprint designed to cut expenditure so as to achieve financial stabilization. Big injections into the economy could of course give a fillip to the inflationary flywheel at precisely the moment when inflation has fallen to a record low—15 percent in November.

According to Ministry of Finance experts, their main philosophy in the sphere of budget policy is to finance items of expenditure as real revenue is received, and this philosophy will on the whole be preserved during the fourth quarter. However, it will not of course be possible to cover all expenditure through taxation and other budget revenue. The deficit of 5.5 trillion rubles [R] compels us to say that the budget for the fourth quarter is more than tight. Under a presidential edict, the government will receive R4.66 trillion from the Central Bank and the remainder will come from gold sales via the issue of gold certificates and the placement of other state securities.

During the first 10 days of December the Ministry of Finance is planning to allocate budget funds to finance the main items of expenditure in the following proportions:
Support for the coal industry—R220 billion
Finance for sociocultural events and science—R212 billion
Support for the social level in the regions—R537 billion
Power structures—R120 billion
Defense and support for servicemen—R300 billion

Bread subsidies for needy sections of the population—R76 billion
Pension payment subsidies—R65 billion
Finance for the elections and holding the referendum on the draft Constitution—R82 billion

According to assessments by Ministry of Finance specialists, phased financing of the country's paramount needs will enable them to avoid the main danger—undermining the ruble's stability—which will therefore help them to keep the inflationary price hike in check. Only in these conditions can Russia start 1994 with a more or less reliable unit of currency.

Regional Affairs

Moscow City, State Officials Clash Over Privatization

PM0812104593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 1

[Yelena Sokolova report: "Scandals: State Committee for Management of State Property Unhappy with Progress of Privatization in Moscow"]

[Text] The dispute between Goskomimushchestvo [Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property], which considers that the "rules of the game" formulated by this department must be the same for everyone, and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, who champions special forms of privatization for the "capital," is not subsiding. What is behind the clashes that have virtually made enemies out of two esteemed departments—the Goskomimushchestvo and Moscow City Hall?

"We do not need privatization checks, we will sell facilities for money," Yu. Luzhkov said. "How, in that case, can Muscovites and residents of other regions avail themselves of their right to acquire property with vouchers," Goskomimushchestvo asked.

In the opinion of Goskomimushchestvo Deputy Chairman Dmitriy Vasilyev, the Moscow leader's statement that virtually all Muscovites have sold their privatization checks and consequently many enterprises may fall into the hands of perfidious commercial structures, is unwarranted.

According to Goskomimushchestvo, only 15 percent of Russian citizens have sold their checks and the rest intend to use them to take part in the privatization process.

D. Vasilyev believes that City Hall's opinion that "facilities must be sold to good investors" does not hold water. The intention is that they will be selected by City Hall itself by means of direct negotiation. Goskomimushchestvo believes that this practice will inevitably give rise to mass corruption of officials. City Hall's attempts to "prevent the sale of real estate" will also have similar consequences. Why create a real estate market and a class of real owners when "clients" can be "kept" in the arena by periodically concluding contracts with them and dictating terms?

In Dmitriy Vasilyev's opinion, "privatization Luzhkov-style" may bring about the all-out criminalization of the Moscow organs engaged in destatization and, most importantly, discredits the very idea of privatization.

A "freeze" has been put on big-league privatization in Moscow as long as the dispute is under way. Only 12 out of 563 major facilities have so far been floated.

Moscow Mayor Defends Measures To Exclude Criminals

PM0912133593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Strugovets report: "Moscow Has No Sympathy for Foreigners' Pleas, Even Though the Envoys of Nine CIS Countries Have Delivered a Protest"]

[Text] The editorial office has received a host of letters on this subject. Here is how Yuriy Luzhkov, the mayor of Moscow, reacted to the problem in conversation with our correspondent:

"No changes will be made. The regime for the registration of newcomers has been set up, it is working, and it is yielding results. And we are satisfied with our work. Incidentally, a whole series of cities have already followed our example.

"As for the protest by the nine CIS countries' envoys, I can tell you that the establishment of this or that system for residence in Russian cities is an internal Russian matter. I regard the protest notes that have been delivered as nothing less than interference in Russia's internal affairs.

"And then, let us consider whom this decision is aimed at. If you want to study in Moscow you can. If you need medical assistance, no one objects. Tours and business trips are no problem either. But we have done and will continue to do everything possible to deny access to the capital for criminal elements from neighboring countries."

Moscow City Official on Visitor Registration

PM0812114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Aleksandr Braganskiy, Moscow Government deputy prime minister, by Vladimir Ivanov; place and date not given: "'Guests of the Capital' and Undesirables"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The recently adopted registration procedure for visitors to Moscow is still provoking stormy disputes. Human rights campaigners see it as a clear infringement of human rights and defenders of the law as a condition of strengthening law and order in the Russian capital. But what do representatives of the Moscow authorities themselves think about it? Moscow Government Deputy Premier Aleksandr Braganskiy answers ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's questions.

[Braganskiy] I consider the adopted decision, although dictated by extraordinary circumstances, to be the only possible one which on the whole accords with international practice. Russia's borders are now often symbolic and transparent, and to strengthen them we must start with the capital. It is here that the country is starting in practice to impose order in an important sphere of its internal life—controlling the migration of other states' citizens throughout its territory.

[Ivanov] Aleksandr Pavlovich, human rights campaigners see this as a serious infringement of the right to move freely and to choose a place of residence.

[Braganskiy] Yes, my friend Leonid Lyubarskiy, the eminent human rights campaigner, reproaches me as the only Moscow Government member he knows for this. But we are not infringing freedom of movement. All we want to do is prevent the uncontrolled entry into Moscow of people who are dangerous for stability and law and order in it. For an honest person the actual fact of registration does not change anything, for the dishonest person it is something which can be used to trace him, catch him out, and pursue him. Especially as statistics persuasively testify that the main role in the dynamics of the increase in the crime rate is played by visitors.

[Ivanov] This is precisely what offends many visitors—they are all effectively equated with criminals.

[Braganskiy] Not at all. It is simply that wherever these defensive measures have to be introduced the question of the legality of the behavior of each individual citizen is not discussed and is not prejudged. For instance, the United States has immigration quotas. It does not at all mean that those refused a visa are in some way worse than those given one, or less law-abiding. It is simply that society determines the number of new inhabitants it can, without harming itself, provide work for, feed, and assimilate into its way of life without jeopardizing it. The United States is not the exception here but the rule—Sweden and Germany are doing the same thing. While in our country immigration into Moscow—interstate immigration following the USSR's disintegration—is going on uncontrolled, without consideration being given to the number of visitors it can assimilate.

[Ivanov] Is Moscow still attractive?

[Braganskiy] Yes and no. Previously, when our economy was run by the Communist Party, everything in the capital was better organized and people came here for their shopping. In the trade respect Moscow's situation is now worse that in many other cities, and it is now time for Muscovites to set off on commercial travels. But Moscow is still attractive as the center of business activity, the decisionmaking center, and the center of economic activity. People are now coming here mainly for serious economic interests. For such people our registration charge is not a problem.

[Ivanov] For some reason the problem of guests from the Caucasus has arisen in connection with the entry registration procedure's inception....

[Braganskiy] Special attention toward them is a reflection of the abnormal situation whereby a considerable proportion of serious crimes in the capital are committed by this very category of visitors and sometimes by other states' citizens. Militia statistics unequivocally testify to this.

That is why administrative, "militia" measures have had to be taken. Many have been contemplated, but so far no others have been found. It was necessary to limit and stop the uncontrolled influx of people with a criminal disposition from outside Russia before it crossed a kind of critical threshold. Otherwise "visiting" crime would have irrevocably taken control of the city's life and would probably even have made inroads into the governing of it.

[Ivanov] Did the Moscow Government not rely on cooperation with the cultural communities of the peoples living in the capital?

[Braganskiy] We have constant and constructive contacts and collaboration with these communities. Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians, Tatars—all these and other ethnic groups living in multiethnic Moscow are turning to us for assistance in solving their problems. And they are getting a response, assistance, and support from the government. We have also relied on them—on the communities being able to control their kinsmen who come to Moscow and helping them to adapt to a new environment and to understand the written and unwritten canons of life in the capital. Alas, this calculation was incorrect: Moscow's national diasporas and new visitors are too different in cultural standards, values in life, and life-styles. The important thing is that what certain guests arrive with is far from always needed by Moscow. Sometimes it is simply dangerous to its inhabitants.

[Ivanov] Aleksandr Pavlovich, in your view does Moscow need a special ethnic policy?

[Braganskiy] I think we simply should not hinder the establishment and maintenance of ethnic peace, in which all ethnic groups are interested.

[Ivanov] And Moscow—should it have special status in Russia?

[Braganskiy] Indisputably. One of the tasks of the future parliament—the Federal Assembly—must be to approve a charter for our city.

Militia Launches Roundup of Moscow Draft Dodgers

PM0812120193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 8

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Militia Dragnet for Draftees"]

[Excerpts] A militia operation code-named "Investigation-93" has been under way in the first few days of December.

Its aim is not to identify vagrants, hooligans, people living in Moscow illegally, or fugitives from justice but to round up draftees who don't spend the night at home, engage in business deals, stay at friends' apartments or in other people's dachas, or specially rent accommodation in other rayons of the city in order not to be tracked down by military commissariat staffers or local police officers.

The fall draft is under way in the capital. According to the plan-cum-schedule determined for Moscow by the Defense Ministry's Main Organizational and Mobilization Directorate 18,697 young men have to be supplied to the troops in October-December. As of today only a little over 30 percent of the plan has been met. [passage omitted]

The Russian Defense Ministry says that on the whole the draft is proceeding according to plan throughout the country. The farther you go into the provinces, the fewer problems you encounter. Only two cities stand out egregiously: Moscow and St. Petersburg, although the second city outstrips the capital in percentage terms as far as the number of young men who have voluntarily joined up is concerned.

And Moscow. "Well, Moscow is a case apart," the military sigh.

Gaydar Holds Talks With Military in St Petersburg

LD0812100193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 8 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar met last night with officers of a tank division based near St. Petersburg. No Russian or foreign journalists were allowed to attend the meeting. According to an INTERFAX correspondent, this was explained by an order of the division commander and Gaydar's personal wish. It is not clear, though, whether Gaydar spoke to them as a deputy prime minister or as leader of the Russia's Choice bloc. If he met them in the capacity of the Russia's Choice leader, then what about a well-known thesis that the army is outside politics? If he met them as deputy prime minister, the press has already reported that Gaydar took unpaid leave from last Monday.

Sobchak Urges Democratic Blocs To Form Coalition

MK0812101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Aleksey Kirpichnikov report under the "Solidarity" rubric: "St. Petersburg Mayor Ready for Unification, but Opposes Exploitation of "Bronze Horseman" by 'Russia's Choice'"]

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, leader of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement [RDRM], spoke before journalists after his trip to Siberia and the Urals. Pointing to the inadequate organization of the voting on the new draft constitution, he said that he did not notice even the simplest visual campaign aids. Only in his native St. Petersburg has a corresponding poster been printed, at RDRM expense. Mr. Sobchak attributed this neglect to the fact that local leaders are concerned about their own election to the Federal Assembly, not the vote on the constitution. In Mr. Sobchak's view, if the draft is not adopted, it will undermine the Federal Assembly's legitimacy, and said that the document's drawbacks are more than offset by its advantages.

The RDRM leader reaffirmed the movement's intention to be a democratic opposition to the current course, noting that the RDRM had to support the government even if it disagreed with it precisely because opposition in the late parliament was not constructive in nature. In particular, Anatoliy Sobchak complained that he has often been Mr. Gaydar's opponent starting as early as January 1992 and proved to have been correct in the end, but his words fell on deaf ears.

As for relations with other democratic associations, the RDRM leader noted that from its inception the movement proposed that two blocs be set up—a government bloc and that of a democratic alternative—but unfortunately this idea did not succeed. Taking a democratic candidate off the ballot in favor of the one having the highest approval rating is fairly possible, and there have been agreements about this in some districts of St. Petersburg. The issue is maintaining discipline within blocs, something other democratic associations except the RDRM are lacking, the St. Petersburg mayor said.

In Mr. Sobchak's view, the Federal Assembly will have a fairly disparate lineup: It will include nine blocs, whereas one single association—even "Russia's Choice"—will have no more than 25 percent of seats at best. This is why even a coalition of two blocs will not be sufficient to win a clear majority, and only an association of all four democratic blocs will produce around 55 percent of seats. The RDRM leader estimated his movement's share of parliamentary seats at 8 to 11 percent, saying that this number of intrinsically decent people is fairly great and stressing that they do not lay claims to government portfolios.

When asked by SEGODNYA with whom the RDRM is ready to cooperate aside from the democrats, Mr. Sobchak said: Even with the communists who put forward reasonable proposals, and they are quite capable of this judging from the Constitutional Conference.

The mayor denounced the exploitation of his city's symbol—"the Bronze Horseman" [statue of Peter the Great]—as "Russia's Choice's" emblem: government members, in his view, do not deserve it, because they impede the setting up of a free economic zone in St. Petersburg.

Kozyrev Pledges To Protect Interests in Barents Sea

LD0712141093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk December 7 TASS—Russian shipping lines and other commercial structures will be given priority in the development of the Shtockman gas deposit in the shelf of the Barents Sea. Western firms will also be given an opportunity to participate in its development. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said this during a meeting with seamen of the Murmansk shipping line on Tuesday. Kozyrev also declared in favour of adoping a state programme for the development of northern regions of the country, above all near-Arctic regions which are very rich in minerals.

Kozyrev runs for the State Duma in the 116th Murmansk Election District from Russia's Choice election bloc and has meetings with voters.

Caucasian Parliament To Boycott Elections

MK0812074093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 89, 7 Dec 93 (Signed to press 6 Dec) p 3

[Vakhtang Dzhanashiya report in the "Caucasus" column: "The Caucasus Peoples Confederation Censures Russia's Policy, Confirms Its Intention To Boycott the Elections and the Referendum"]

[Text] On 4 and 5 December the Fifth Emergency Congress of the Caucasus Peoples Confederation [CPC] was held in Chechnya's capital Groznyy under the slogans "The Caucasus Will be Free" and "'No' to the Colonial Constitution!" Representatives of national organizations from 10 North Caucasian peoples and also the Abkhaz and South Ossetians discussed the sociopolitical situation in the regions and the confederation's tasks. The greater part of the congress' work was taken up by a discussion of the election campaign for the Federation Assembly and the draft new constitution of the Russian Federation. In fact there were no disputes on the Fundamental Law of Russia. The draft was unanimously and very severely criticized for "restoring imperial unitarist principles" and the "attempt to abolish the republics' sovereignty." The congress resolution protests Russia's policy in general, primarily on the nationalities issue. The delegates demanded that the referendum on the Russian Federation constitution must not be held; should it take place, the delegates called on the population of the North Caucasus to vote against it since "the adoption of such a Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation will have unpredictable implications in the North Caucasus." The confederation members were just as unanimous with respect to elections for the Federal Assembly. In their view, "the legal parliament was executed by firing squad," while the election of new deputies is nothing but "an awkward attempt by the bloody Kremlin junta and its dictator to legitimize the coup and create a tame parliament." The focus of the discussion on the sociopolitical situation in the Caucasus was the situation in Chechnya, the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, and the situation in Abkhazia. The internal Chechen contradictions nearly resulted in a disruption of the congress and bloodshed when prior to the opening of the first session, CPC Parliament Chairman Yusup Soslambekov, who received a vote of no confidence and was recalled by the Chechen republican CPC organization, nearly provoked a shoot- out between four dozen bodyguards and the congress security service. Ali Aliyev, a Lak and captain first rank of the Soviet Army, was appointed the new speaker of the Caucasian parliament. In the recent period he has worked as chief of staff in the Abkhaz Navy.

On the issue of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, the CPC unanimously took the Ingush side. Yet in a corresponding resolution the delegates watered down the wording so as to prevent the North Ossetian delegation from finally leaving the CPC.

The nationalists' victory in Abkhazia has led to a situation where any mention of this region provoked an ovation at the congress. The atmosphere, however, was somewhat overshadowed by the discussion of the severe conflict between Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev and Guram Gunba, leader of the extreme Democratic Party of Abkhazia and chairman of the CPC international relations committee. As was announced from the congress rostrum, Mr. Gunba, who asked his associates for additional supplies of weapons and ammunition, was told by the Chechen president to "fuck off" ["poslal na tri bukvy"]. In the congress lobby this incident was seen as yet another attempt by Mr. Dudayev to start normalizing relations with Georgia. Guram Gunba refused to comment on the incident. President Dudayev himself, responding to the question about the causes of such a profanity, which is inexcusable in the Caucasus, used in addressing one of the most authoritative Caucasian extremists, said: "This honor has been richly deserved."

Dzhokhar Dudayev's statement on recognizing the Chechens—deputies to the CPC parliament—as parliamentarians of the Chechen Republic in place of the Chechen Supreme Soviet opposition disbanded last year is important in its possible repercussions. Mr. Dudayev called on other leaders of the Caucasus republics to follow suit. The actions by the executive authorities of the Russian Federation with respect to the Russian deputies were assessed highly negatively. President Dudayev confirmed the Chechens' unshakeable determination to uphold their independence, reaffirming that the republic will not participate in elections to "a foreign legislative body" or the referendum on "the authoritarian imperial constitution."

In addition to electing Ali Aliyev speaker of the Caucasus parliament, the congress resolved a number of organizational matters. In particular Chechen Shamil Basayev was appointed commander of the CPC Armed Forces. Amin Zekhov from Adygeya, who also had combat experience in Abkhazia, was confirmed as chief of staff.

In conclusion the congress adopted a number of resolutions. In addition to those already mentioned, noteworthy is a statement/demand to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to release "the son of the Caucasus, Ruslan Khasbulatov, as the sole defender of constitutionality" and a protest against "fanning an anti-Caucasian hysteria in Russia" and using the so-called "people of Caucasus nationality to foster an enemy stereotype."

Summing up the results of the congress, CPC President Musa Shanibov and Vice President Murat Ibragimbeyli were unanimous that it has been a success and that the confederation's influence in the region and in the country has grown. The CPC leaders were just as unanimous in their extremely negative appraisal of Moscow's nationalities policy and the performance by the Russian Federation president. Disagreements emerged only in respect to the State Committee on Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities Affairs [Goskomnats]. Mr. Shanibov stressed that his personal sympathies for and mutual understanding with Sergey Shakhray have strengthened. He said though that he realizes that he does not have many fellow thinkers. At any rate, the statement at the congress by Goskomnats representative Salim Akhilgov, who categorically denied the CPC registration, provoked a clash which nearly developed into a major brawl.

Tatar Parliament Deadlocks Over Parliament Reform

LD0712173993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1242 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan December 7 TASS—THe Tatarstan parliament has been looking for a way out of a deadlock it has come to in its efforts to reform the parliament.

Tatarstan law makers met in session three times, but all suggested ways of reforming the parliament have been rejected. The parliament ended its last session having instructed two permanent parliamentary committees for issues of legislature and the operation of councils to work out a new draft bill for the reorganization of the representative and legislative branches of power.

Chairman of a Permanent Commission of the Tatarstan Parliament for Legislature, Rustam Khafizov, said that at first, the parliament has to find an optimum form - operating on a professional of semi-professional basis and having an optimum highly-professional membership.

"It is necessary to reasonably divide the powers of the parliament and executive bodies of power in accordance with interests of contemporary society and finally, resolve a no less important problem of the competence of heads of administrations of cities and regions," Khafizov said.

"Anyway, all these problems are solvable and we expect the draft bill to be submitted to people's deputies for approval in two weeks' time," Khafizov said.

'Campaign' Against Elections in Tatarstan Alleged

MK0712103093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 4

[Sergey Fedotov, Lev Ambinder report: "Kazan Intends To Boycott Federal Elections"]

[Text] Tatarstan is the third federation component, after Chelyabinsk and Chechnya, that will not hold elections for the Federation Council due to an insufficient number of candidates. Leaders of the Tatar republican electoral bloc "Equality and Legitimacy" think that elections for the other chamber of the new parliament—the State Duma—will also be disrupted.

As for federal blocs, Russia's Choice is represented in Tatarstan by three candidates, the Democratic Party of Russia by two, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin and Russia's Future-New Names blocs by one each. Seven candidates for the State Duma represent the interests of the Tatarstan republican bloc of democratic forces, "Equality and Legitimacy."

Ivan Grachev, cochairman of this bloc and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet, announced on Kazan television that the heads of local administrations in Tatarstan are virtually not represented by candidates. In Grachev's opinion, this means that the republic's authorities are waging a covert campaign to boycott the elections for the State Duma and the referendum on the constitution. This is especially conspicuous, representatives of the bloc think, in Tatar-language broadcasts.

Rafail Khakimov, Tatarstan presidential adviser, said in one of his addresses that "our 'no' to the Russian constitution consists in not coming to the polls." And this threat is quite realizable because as little as six or eight people came to the polls in some of the republic's rural areas during the April referendum. At the same time, a group of specialists at a Kazan institute has issued information that nearly 36 percent of urban residents would come to the polls and nearly 28 percent would not take part in the elections.

Against the backdrop of the population's apathy regarding the elections, the Tatarstan president's team is stepping up work to create a republican party of Tatarstan, "Unity and Progress." The founding congress of the party is scheduled for 18 December. Representatives of the party express their intention to take part in governing the state through their representatives in the elective bodies of power. The state implies Tatarstan. This is yet another proof that regional interests are coming to the fore in the political hierarchy of values in the republic.

Tatar Paper Campaigns for Boycott of Elections

PM0712124593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Boris Bronshteyn report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Large-Scale Antielection Campaigning in Tatarstan"]

[Text] Kazan—The latest issue of SUVERENITET [Sovereignty] newspaper, which urges Tatarstan inhabitants not to participate in the 12 December elections, has an unprecedented print run of 500,000 copies.

The newspaper, which large numbers of Kazan inhabitants unexpectedly found in their mailboxes, claims that participation in neighboring Russia's elections is a betrayal of the state interests of our fatherland—Tatarstan.

Dudayev: Yeltsin Remark 'Veiled' Declaration of War

LD0812154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Groznyy, 8 Dec—The statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the need to control the railroads running through the territory of the Chechen Republic, which he made during his recent stay in the Northern Caucasus, has aroused a response in Groznyy. According to a report by the CHECHENPRESS agency, President Dzhokhar Dudayev held a meeting today with the leadership of the republic's armed forces at which it was stressed that "Boris Yeltsin's statement is in effect a declaration of war in veiled form." As for the railroads, the report from Grozny states, "they are being guarded by special troop units of the Chechen Republic."

N. Ossetian, Ingush Leaders Explain Views

PM0712124793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 2

[Yuriy Rublevskiy report featuring "correspondence" between A. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, and Ingush President R. Aushev: "Sparks Will Not Die Down. Ossetian-Ingush Conflict: Leaders' Opinion"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Vladikavkaz-Nazran—The conflagration of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict in the North Caucasus has now been extinguished by Russian troops, but the sparks of interethnic enmity are still smoldering. The blood that has been shed has not in effect yet grown cold, but it is indusputably necessary to carry on living, restore what has been destroyed, and look after the refugees. The reasons why the quest for a political compromise between the conflicting parties is so difficult will be clear from the correspondence between the leaders of the two republics.

Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet:

"The tragedy was caused by statesmen's ill-conceived, hasty steps and actions. Attempts have been made for the third time since November 1990 to throw South Ossetians out of Georgia and South Ossetia. On the other hand, the Russian parliament adopted with a haste enviable in other circumstances the Law 'On the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples.' A humane act, but Article 6 of the law—on territorial rehabilitation—has no parallel in the world political-legal domain. It was this article that impelled Ingush national-extremists a year ago to forcibly try to seize part of Prigorodnyy Rayon.

"Another illegal act is now being prepared—the return of Ingush refugees to their former places of residence.

"The murder of Viktor Polyanichko, General Anatoliy Koretskiy, and Senior Lieutenant Viktor Kravchuk caused pain in the hearts of the people of North Ossetia. I think that the murder of Polyanichko and his comrades was the result of this kind of persecution. I do not know who murdered them, but everything must be done to find the murderer.

"Bringing back refugees to their former places of residence is a no-win stance. Yesterday people were killing one another, and they cannot be smitten with love for one another now.

"A line of demarcation must be drawn between the two peoples and a security zone created—Russian peacekeeping forces are needed for this. Everyone—Ossetians and Ingush—must realize the essence of the Kislovodsk agreements, which every side is interpreting in its own fashion. After all, these agreements talk about refugees with residence permits who were not involved in the hostilities, returning during the first stage. In all there are around 32,000 of them who lived in Prigorodnyy Rayon. Around 50 percent of the men in this band of people took up arms. The mixed Ossetian-Ingush commission involving representatives of the Interim Administration must therefore ascertain who can return to their former places of residence and who cannot.

"In order to ensure that the tragedy does not repeat itself, Ingush refugees must be resettled in close-knit agreed population centers—during the first stage, for instance, in the settlement of Mayskoye with the adjacent 3,000 hectares of land. If that experiment produces positive results, it can be continued.

"At the same time the main motive for all the interethnic conflict on Russian territory must be removed. This being territorial claims, and no moratoriums can eliminate those. In the prevailing situation it is necessary to urgently bring the two above laws that caused the deterioration in Ossetian-Ingush relations ('The territory of a republic within the Russian Federation cannot be changed without its consent'—Editor's Note) into line with Article 80 of the Russian Constitution.

"I do not think that the Ingush problem can be resolved in isolation from the Chechen problem. What is Chechnya—a component of the Russian Federation or an independent state? Only Russia can provide a cogent answer to that question. What is more, it is essential to urgently determine the position with the citizens of Ingushetia, begin creating the republic's economic base, and persuade Ingush leaders of the foolishness of their seeking to solve their problems 'elsewhere.'

"It is time to stop the talk about introducing special rule in the state of emergency area. It is necessary to act in accordance with the Russian Constitution and the Federation Treaty when resolving the problems in relations between the two republics."

Ingush President Ruslan Aushev:

"We patiently waited almost a year for our fate to be decided. However, the provocations and killings are continuing. That was why we convened the congress of peoples of Ingushetia, which asked the president of Ingushetia to schedule a referendum 'on the question of relations with the Russian Federation.' It is time to decide the republic's status—we are being compelled to do this by the inactivity of some Russian politicians. In our view, the whole trouble resides in the ill-conceived nationalities policy pursued by the center, which has brought about so many mistakes with regard to the Baltic republics, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and Tajikistan. The land from which Ingush citizens were deported has been Ingush land since time immemorial, and it is a matter of time before that land is returned to Ingushetia. Federal rule must be introduced in the state of emeregncy zone, all the republics' legal and illegal armed detachments withdrawn therefrom, and Russian Army and Ministry of Internal Affairs forces introduced in their place. Russian citizens must occupy all posts in the state of emergency zone, from precinct militiamen to the very highest posts. Ingush refugees must start being settled with a Russian troop escort in all the population centers from which they were deported late last year.

"Our referendum is not a means of political blackmail, but evidence of desperation. We are looking to Chechnya, which has made its stand in its relations with Russia. We see that they do not have the bloodshed that we have in our republic. Like them we could after all become a subject of international law and gain the attention of the world public. It would then be easier for us to resolve our problems and we would lead a better life.

"As for the borders or, more correctly, lack of borders with Chechnya, we believe that there should be no state borders between two fraternal peoples. If there is ever a border between Chechnya and Ingushetia, it will be an administrative one and we will draw it without involving a 'third' party.

"Now a word about the murder of Polyanichko. The Ossetians claim that he was going to talks with the Ingush about the return of weapons seized from a company of Russian special-purpose troops in the Dzheyrakhskoye Gorge in late July and was allegedly killed by the Ingush. I would venture to state the opposite.

"I told Polyanichko 31 July that I had finished talking to the people who were holding the weapons and that they would be returned, but that 40 million rubles would have to be paid for their return. I also said that this sum could be adjusted to an acceptable level. I said that I myself would give the thieves the money and he would then give me the money once the weapons had been handed over.

"On the morning of 1 August, the day of the tragedy, I spoke to Gen. Anatoliy Koretskiy and assured him that everything was going normally with the handover of the weapons. So there can be no question of Polyanichko going for talks about the return of the weapons or seeking to reduce the amount of the ransom for these weapons. What is more, the story that Polyanichko was summoned to a meeting in the village of Tarskoye by Dzheyrakh Tsurov, chairman of the Ingush settlement's village soviet, is crazy. I can assure you that Tsurov was in Nazran 31 July and 1 August at the congress of peoples of Ingushetia.

"I think that Polyanichko went for talks with Bibo Dzutsev, commander of the Ossetian militiamen, to ask him to ensure that Ossetian gunmen did not hamper the handover of the weapons. Polyanichko also went off to the meeting boldly, without the proper guard since he knew that he would be meeting the man who controlled the actions of the gunmen in the region. That is why I think Dzutsev was at the scene of Polyanichko's murder 10 minutes after the tragedy.

"I believe that the reason for Polyanichko's murder was the fact that he was 2 August to have named 4 population centers in Prigorodnyy Rayon to which the Ingush who left during the events of October and November last year were to have returned."

N. Ossetian Leader Critical of Conference Conclusions

LD0812184493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] North Ossetian Prime Minister Sergey Khetagurov has criticized the understandings reached at the conference of leaders of the North Caucasus, particularly the provision on speeding up the return of Ingush refugees to the North Ossetian Prigorodnyy Region. The conference was attended by Russian President Yeltsin and took place in Nalchik December 7.

Addressing the North Ossetian parliament session on Wednesday, he said that was a deadlock into which the Russian president had been pushed.

Khetagurov also said that there were no illegal armed units on the territory of the North Ossetia, and the provision in the Nalchik statement on their disarmament means the Department for Protection of National Economy Facilities (DPNEF) under the North Ossetian government. Despite the fact that the Department's creation was sanctioned by the Russian Interior Ministry, the prime minister said, now the Russian General Prosecutor's Office, on the initiative of the Security Council's secretary Oleg Lobov, checks the activities of the Department and Khetagurov is under investigation.

Meanwhile, the speaker of the Ossetian Parliament Akhsarbek Galazov has said that the republic needs peace with all neighbors and no armed forces are able to provide normal living conditions for people. Peace should be maintained by people alone, he said. He also said that all measures aimed at returning the Ingush refugees and forced migrants to the Prigorodnyy Region will be taken jointly with the North Ossetian law enforcement bodies.

The session was suspended at noon because of a public meeting near the Council House due to the planned return of the Ingush refugees. Eye-witnesses say that the meeting is being attended by 10,000 people.

Deputies decided to meet those at the meeting and proposed that they approve the draft of the resolution which says that it is necessary to support Galazov's statement about the need to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict peacefully on condition of Ingushetia's abandoning its territorial claims on North Ossetia, as well as to support President Yeltsin's proposal on a moratorium for territorial division within Russia. We must win the support of the people, said Galazov.

Ingushetia Still Wants Territory Back From N. Ossetia

LD0812191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov]

[Text] Nazran December 8 TASS—The Russian Caucasian Republic of Ingushetia did not abandon its demands to get back its territories which were transferred to neighbouring North Ossetia after the Ingushi people were repressed by former soviet dictator Joseph Stalin in 1944, according to President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev.

Addressing a press conference on Wednesday he denied mass media reports that his republic had dropped its territorial claims.

"Ingushetia will continue to struggle for the restoration of historic justice, for the implementation of the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples", he said.

Aushev stressed that the major result of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the zone of conflict was the decision of the Russian president to return Ingushi refugees to their homes in four settlements in North Ossetia.

"The major result of the visit of the Russian president to the North Caucasus is his intention to sign after (December 12) elections a decree according to which Ingushis deported from North Ossetia will be returned to four settlements - Dangaron, Kurstat, Dachnoe, Chermen", he said.

Tuva Republic Discusses Right To Secede

LD0812125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1228 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yevgeniy Sobetskiy and Vadim Polyakov]

[Text] Kyzyl December 8 TASS—An extraordinary session of the parliament of the Republic of Tuva convened here today to discuss the possible development of the situation around the December 12 referendum.

The republic is due to vote on two questions in the forthcoming referendum—one concerning the draft constitution of the Russian Federation and the other on the approval of the fundamental law of the republic itself. Put to the vote will be the constitution approved by the republic's parliament on October 21.

The problem which necessitated the convocation of the extraordinary session of the parliament stems from the difference between the two constitutions on the issue of self-determination of republics within the Russian Federation. The local constitution provides for the right of the region to self-determination up to secession. The draft constitution of the Russian Federation does not contain such a provision.

Earlier today, presidential chief of staff Sergey Filatov expressed concern over this stance of Tuva. He also referred to Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, whose positions prompted Filatov to draw a distinguishing line "between the interests of the elite and the interests of the people." He suggested that the leaders of the mentioned republics were more concerned about their own hold on power than about the sovereign rights of their republics.

Bashkir Presidential Candidate on Ties With Moscow

LD0812212593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2003 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Banker Rafis Kadyrov, 38, who is running for Bashkir presidency, said that if he wins the December-12 election he will immediately "normalize political issues with Russia."

"Bashkiria belongs in an indivisible Russia," he emphasized in an exclusive interview he gave Interfax.

In Kadyrov's view, Bashkiria should cease to be a source of political instability and become a bastion of the federal government. The Bashkir president, he thinks, should become "a reliable member of the Russian president's team and work for his action program.

Kadyrov's competitor in the upcoming election is Murtaza Rakhimov, who chairs the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Kadyrov criticized the political line of the present Bashkir leadership saying that this was the road to a disaster. Unless the Ufa policy is significantly changed, "the republic would inevitably de-industrialize and become an agrarian country with a backward agricultural technology, high unemployment and low living standards.

He said that he felt capable of taking over the republic's leadership and making the life easier today for its people, who have suffered so much."

"I can teach my fellow-countrymen to earn, to create added value and work for prosperity of the whole of our republic," Kadyrov said.

The interview will be published in full in one of the nearest Interfax-Exclusive editions.

Editor on Eviction of Vladivostok Paper by Kray

OW0812041093 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 2010 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Interview with Yuriy Makeyev, chief editor of the UTRO ROSSII newspaper, by Valeriy Denisov at the UTRO ROSSII editorial offices; date not given; from the "Good Morning Vladivostok" program]

[Text] Our radio listeners are worried whether the UTRO ROSSII newspaper will continue to be published next year and will they be able to subscribe to it. Armed with these questions, our correspondent, Valeriy Denisov, went to Yuriy Makeyev, chief editor of UTRO ROSSII. Let us listen to the report.

[Begin recording] [Denisov] Yuriy Viktorovich, after the abolition of the kray soviet, the political situation had changed and UTRO ROSSII found itself out of favor with the kray administration. Rumors reached us at the radio station that the newspaper is being evicted from its building on Pervoy Morskoy Street.

[Makeyev] A couple of days ago, the kray administration sent a letter to the newspaper office. This was a direction from Prokonichev, chief of the municipal department, giving us one week to vacate the premises. The reason: The editorial office is an alien organization.

[Denisov] Is that so?

[Makeyev] Yes, and the reason for this is that all mass media which do not sing the current administration's praises are not only alien but simply undesirable, particularly during an election campaign. True, UTRO ROSSII criticizes Nazdratenko and his team for attempts to: create a maritime republic; to halt privatization; to slow down the realization of the border agreement with PRC; and for the protection of certain commercial organizations. But that is what a newspaper is for—to keep the powers under public control. Regretfully, our journalists are becoming more and more convinced that this is not a team of reformists, but of restorers.

[Denisov] Yuriy Viktorovich, what do you intend to do in this situation? I can remember, our President Yeltsin himself had good words to say about UTRO ROSSII.

[Makeyev] Yes, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin gave his blessings to our newspaper in its very first days, when he came to the Maritime Kray and the newspaper had just begun publication. He wished us well, and even then our deputies raised the issue with him, that certain forces would like it if this newspaper had not seen the light of day—they wanted to suppress it. He laughed at the time and said: There are too many suppressors, they have even tried to suppress me. In answering your question, I think, that the president's words are very appropriate in this situation. UTRO ROSSII will continue to live. If they refuse us these premises, we will find other. The newspaper has become independent and we have many readers, and on behalf of these readers we will not allow anyone to suppress the paper. We have the Mass Media Law on our side.

[Denisov] Let us hope that you and your collective holds out and we, the readers, love and read your newspaper.

[Makeyev] Thank you, the newspaper will be published under any circumstances, however difficult it may be for us, the newspaper will continue to be published. You may confidently subscribe and read our newspaper in the new year. [end recording]

Closure of Vladimir Soviet Newspaper Evokes Protests

PM0712110993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Off to London Again, To Publish a Newspaper?"]

[Text] By decision of Oblast Governor Yuriy Vlasov, publication has been suspended in Vladimir of the oblast newspaper VLADIMIRSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, one of whose first editors was, as we know, Aleksandr Gertsen.

This decision was adopted in connection with the dissolution of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, but in so doing the oblast administration broke the Law on the Mass Media. Oblast Prosecutor Vyacheslav Kopotilov protested this decree, saying that it was illegal, and demanded that it be repealed immediately. The coordinating council of the local "Democratic Russia" organization was vociferous in speaking out against VLADIMIRSKIYE VEDOMOSTI's closure.

Omsk Oblast Administration Head Interviewed

PM0812115393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with L. Polezhayev, head of the Omsk Oblast Administration, by ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Petrov; place and date not given: "Siberia Is a Delicate Matter"]

[Text] Of the registered candidate deputies to the new supreme legislative organ of the Russian Federation in Omsk Oblast perhaps the figure of oblast administration head Leonid Polezhayev is best known. For three years he has headed executive power here although after graduating from the local agricultural institute he worked in Kazakhstan until 1987.

Three years later he headed the economic planning administration and a year after that he become oblast executive committee chairman. He combines the toughness of many of his decisions and actions with sufficient caution and flexibility in questions concerning the conservation of political and social stability. Polezhayaev is the author of a package of interesting projects whose implementation has made Omsk one of the most promising Russian regions.

[Polezhayev] I returned to Omsk firmly convinced that I had already done the main thing in my life, Leonid Polezhayev said. But I was wrong. Here I was understood and accepted, as they say. In 1991 I was even nominated as a candidate Russian people's deputy but I lost.

[Petrov] Now it is a second attempt, as it were: You have been registered as a candidate deputy for the Federation Council for the Omsk electoral district no. 55.

[Polezhayev] Because after three years of leadership of executive power I have become convinced that I must defend the rights and interests of my fellow countrymen and the oblast in the top echelons of power. People who know the difficulties of reforms and management from more than hearsay must engage in preparing and adopting laws. We need laws which consider real life and will make the reforms more understandable to people.

[Petrov] Your rivals include the mayor of Omsk, a journalist, and a deputy in the former parliament. How do you assess your rating?

[Polezhayev] People will speak of my rating 12 December. Before them I am not simply a candidate but a man who has submitted to the verdict his almost four years of activity as leader of the oblast, his vision and understanding of the situation, his ability to resolve current problems and at the same time to conduct the structural restructuring of the economy with minimum losses.

[Petrov] Are you sure that the new parliament and the new Constitution will direct their country into the channel of assertive peaceful reform?

[Polezhayev] I very much hope so. There is no doubt that that is the aim. With the old Constitution, however much it was patched up, it was hard to speak of the further deepening of economic reform and the stabilization of sociopolitical life. On this plane the adoption of the new Fundamental Law is extremely important.

[Petrov] Leonid Konstantinovich, for 20 years Omsk Oblast was led by CPSU Oblast Committee First Secretary Sergey Manyakin. Under him the countryside's problems were paramount in the oblast. A very great deal was done. Suffice it to say that in the former USSR, especially in Russia, Omsk Oblast was renowned for having the most developed agro-industrial complex. And suddenly today you can hear people saying: Polezhayev is not overfond of the countryside...

[Polezhayev] I do not intend to try to prove anything. Against the background of what is happening with agriculture in general—the drastic increase in prices for equipment and fuel, the reduction of subsidies, the disruption of the parity of prices, the delay in settling accounts for output already sold—Omsk Oblast even now looks better than its neighbors. In the very hard past two years we have brought in respectable harvests and prepared sufficient feed.

[Petrov] The Omsk Oblast administration has become the initiator of Russian-Kazakh dialogue at interregional level. Promising accords have emerged in Omsk. But again politicians have been unable to agree in the capitals.

[Polezhayev] At our initiative two meetings of leaders of 20 border oblasts have been held in Omsk with the participation of the prime ministers and vice premiers. A third meeting has been prepared. The border, which has become a barrier on the path of traditional geoeconomic relations, has given rise to a mass of problems.

We have sought to create an association for economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between adjacent territories of Russia and Kazakhstan. Today it merely remains to be hoped that the difficulties which have arisen between Moscow and Almaty will not have a pernicious effect on relations between neighboring regions.

[Petrov] Russian Government Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays, who has visited Omsk, has stressed several times that in the present situation with regard to finances and investments Omsk, where 78 percent of fixed capital belongs to enterprises of the military-industrial complex, has found itself in a most difficult position.

[Polezhayev] The prosperity and job prospects of three quarters of Omsk families are linked in one way or another with the defense industry. Nine out of 10 automated systems and modules are concentrated at these enterprises and their scientific research institutes and design bureaus. Imagine how the entire city and oblast are dependent on what is happening in this giant complex.

Together with the association of industrial enterprises a regional conversion program has been elaborated providing for six avenues for the development of the production of civilian output and consumer goods.

But the situation in the defense industry remains extremely tense.

The city once closed to foreigners does not believe that the face of its economy has acquired its final features after the veil of secrecy has been lifted. A major center for wholesale trade, a "business springboard" for Europe into Asia, a window on Kazakhstan—these and other ideas can quite well be implemented and in the very near future exert real influence on the nature of Omsk Oblast's economy.

Electoral Official on Military Votes, Campaign Funds

OW0912135393 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 2010 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Leonid Stoykov report; from the "Priamurye Day By Day" program]

[Text] Yesterday, as is usual on Tuesday, the regular meeting of the Khabarovsk District Electoral Commission was held. Leonid Stoykov, our correspondent reports.

[Begin recording] [Stoykov] At this meeting, current election preparation issues were being decided—for example, confirmation that the group will work with foreign observers. At the outset I will tell you that we will have Japanese observers working in our Kray and representatives of other states have also expressed an interest. Here are some other interesting issues: On Progress of Preparations for Elections in Military Units and Places of Temporary Custody; another example: On Transfer of Campaign Money to Candidates for Deputy. So, I have asked Nikolay Vladimirovich Vlasenko, deputy chairman of the District Electoral Commission, to comment on these issues.

[Vlasenko] The situation in military units today permits the proper standard for the conduct of elections. Voting centers and ward electoral commissions have been established everywhere. Some of the servicemen will vote at closed electoral centers and some will vote at open electoral centers according to their place of residence. Among issues contributing to the delay in preparations during this pre-election campaign is that the periodic process of discharge and call up of servicemen is in progress, complicating the situation due to the constant changing of voter numbers. However, the situation overall is under control and the participation of the incoming servicemen on voting day is assured.

Here, the issue concerning the conduct of direct campaigning, whether for or against the candidate, was raised. Regrettably, the current statute on elections states that electors in military units may vote, while the allied Law on Defense establishes, in Article 18 in particular, that all political campaigning—and this includes preelection campaigning—is forbidden on the territory of military units, combined units, and armed forces establishments of the Russian Federation. Thus, the conduct of assemblies and meetings with candidates on military property is forbidden by the Law on Defense. Here we speak about the imperfection of our legislation which, apparently, should have either given the servicemen the opportunity to meet with candidates for deputy or to solve the problem in another way, say, by permitting the conduct of meetings outside the military units. Unfortunately, this issue is still open and it is beyond the scope of our District Commission to recommend that either the military unit commanders or the candidates carry out this work.

[Stoykov] And a few words about the amount of money allocated each candidate for pre-election campaigning. At the outset, I will say that everyone was allocated an equal amount, 200,000 rubles each.

[Vlasenko] This figure of 200,000 rubles was determined from the fact that we have five candidates for the Federation Council and the State Duma respectively registered in our electoral district and the overall sum allocated for candidates was two million rubles. According to the commission's estimates of expenditures, a total sum of five million rubles was needed to cover all these expenditures. However, seeing that only half of the amount needed to conduct the elections actually arrived in the kray, it is understandable that at present it is difficult to assure the preparation of even such traditional materials like placards and leaflets with such a small sum. According to the statute, the only right candidates have left is the right to appeal to registered companies and individuals for help. Many candidates have opened bank accounts into which companies and individuals have the right to deposit money to be used by candidates for campaigning. [end recording]

International Affairs

Kravchuk on Cooperation With Tunisia, START

LD0812200993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] We view our official visit to Tunisia at the highest level as an important political measure directed at strengthening and extending mutually advantageous economic and cultural links between our states, stated Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk at a news conference which took place on 8 December. In the president's opinion, Tunisia is playing a substantial role both in the Near East and in the whole of the African continent. This country should become an important economic partner of ours. The proximity of Tunisia to Ukraine's southern borders and its economic potential also contribute to this. All of this brings forth Ukraine's interest in establishing large-scale, long-term cooperation with the Republic of Tunisia.

Our policy regarding Tunisia is free from conjunctive considerations and ideological cliches, Leonid Kravchuk went on to note. Objective conditions exist today for developing mutually advantageous Ukrainian-Tunisian cooperation on equal terms. We are striving to lay the foundations for the further development of such relations with the Republic of Tunisia and to lift bilateral cooperation to a qualitatively new level. In addition, Ukraine is ready for constructive cooperation with Tunisia, other Arab countries, and Israel in the matter of a Near East settlement both within the framework of the United Nations and on a bilateral basis.

It was also reported at the news conference that an interstate agreement on the foundations of friendly mutual relations and cooperation was signed during the official visit to the Republic of Tunisia, as was a series of documents on scientific-technical work, trade and economic cooperation, air communications, and water engineering construction.

Replying to questions about problems concerning nuclear weapons, Leonid Kravchuk stressed: Ukraine's stance on this issue remains clear and well-considered, and we are not changing our course. Our state is going toward and will reach nonnuclear status. We have agreed with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton that Ukraine will be fulfilling its obligations in accordance with the Supreme Council resolution and other directive documents and statements adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

We want, noted the head of the Ukrainian state, for Ukraine to be understood in the world. We want it to be given appropriate assistance. We need security guarantees and compensation for valuables, (?which a) nuclear warhead is, as well as scientific-technical and financial support. If these measures are taken by the relevant states, then the Ukrainian Supreme Council will return to the ratification of the START I Treaty and will ratify it in accordance with its obligations. On my part, stated Leonid Kravchuk, I will do everything I need to do to submit this issue for examination by the Supreme Council again. For me as president, Kravchuk went on to say, it is very important that Ukraine be viewed not only as a nuclear state but as a possible economic partner—as a state that can play an important role in Europe and that will stabilize peace and calm.

Ukraine is not threatening anyone with nuclear weapons at present. It cannot do this, if only because the nuclear button is located in Moscow. There is no need to distort Ukraine's image. It wants to be and will be a peaceful state.

Leonid Kravchuk also replied to a series of other questions from journalists at the news conference.

U.S. Stance on START 'Far From Hysterical'

WS0812092593 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Yuliya Mostovaya: "There Are as Many Opinions as Presidents"]

[Text] On 29 November, 11 days after the initially set date, the official voice in Washington finally appeared on the phone line. As the Ukrainian president's press service reported, during a telephone conversation with Bill Clinton Leonid Kravchuk "explained to the U.S. President a range of issues connected with ratification of START I by the Ukrainian parliament, as well as briefed Bill Clinton on the social and economic situation in Ukraine and the development of Ukrainian-American relations." The press service report said: "The U.S. President expressed his intention to seek solutions to the treaty issue and problems of economic cooperation. In this context, he proposed specific approaches, including a mechanism for reaching agreements on U.S. financial and economic assistance in the areas of nuclear arms destruction, security guarantees for Ukraine, and compensation for nuclear components." The report concluded by saying that both presidents decided that high-level delegations should meet in Washington to work on issues of economic cooperation.

The White House put a somewhat different spin on the conversation. As REUTERS reported from Washington, citing Ms. Meyers, the White House spokesperson, "during the conversation with the Ukrainian president, Bill Clinton expressed his discontent over the conditions under which the Ukrainian legislature agreed to ratify START I. During the 30-minute 'frank and open discussion,' the U.S. President expressed his hope that 'Ukraine will keep to its nuclear commitments.' Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said that he intended to submit START I to a new legislature, which will be elected in March 1994, and expressed his readiness to continue cooperation with the United States and Russia on the issue of scrapping nuclear weapons. President Clinton reacted positively to the statement," REUTERS concluded.

These differences in opinions prove the old truism that any state keeps its secrets first of all from its own people.

One should, however, admit that the U.S. position is pretty firm, but, in contrast with the Russian one, is far from hysterical. America's relative calmness can be explained by the fact that it has no real leverage with which to pressure Ukraine because it has not yet tied Ukraine's hands with its investments. With its monopoly on oil and gas supplies and nuclear experts, Russia, on the other hand, has more than enough leverage, and will probably go out of its way to exert pressure.

French View Supreme Council's START Stance

LD0812201993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1352 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—Dominic Tardyuvan [name as received], press secretary for the French Embassy in Ukraine, noted in an interview with a UNIAN correspondent on 8 December that his state's position regarding Ukraine's ratification of the START I Treaty is grounded on the pledges made by Ukraine when it became independent. "Ukraine promised to become a nonbloc, neutral, nuclear state," explained the representative of France's diplomatic corps. "My country recognized it specifically in this context. Therefore, France is waiting for Ukraine to implement its pledges regarding nuclear disarmament as quickly as possible."

With reference to Richard Duque [French ambassador to the Western European Union], a representative of France's Foreign Affairs Ministry, it was reported at the embassy that official Paris is not entirely in agreement with the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine being accompanied by the conditions advanced by the Supreme Council. "As a nuclear state France agrees to give security guarantees to Ukraine in the event that it gives up nuclear weapons," reported Dominic Tardyuvan. Regarding specific assistance—financial, technical, or consultative—the embassy does not have detailed information at present.

Germany Gives Computers To Use in Disarmament

LD0812231893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2050 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—According to information from the German Embassy in Ukraine, Germany Ambassador Alexander Arnot today handed over a gift of computer systems valued at 50,000 German marks to Borys Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, within the framework of the German Government's assistance to Ukraine in the disarmament sphere. These computers, designated for the work of the disarmament and armaments control department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will make a substantial contribution to Ukraine's speedy and simplified implementation of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty of 1990 and the Vienna Document.

According to Alexander Arnot, Germany continues to be interested in constructive and close cooperation with Ukraine and hopes that it will soon carry out its pledges regarding full ratification of the START I Treaty and accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state. The German Government confirms its proposal to render assistance in nuclear disarmament; the principles of the assistance were laid down during the June 1993 visit to Kiev by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, when a framework agreement was signed. In connection with this, the governments of countries [not further specified] are viewing cooperation in destroying highly toxic liquid fuel for SS-19 missiles with great financial support from Germany as a possible plan.

Crimea Concludes Gas Deal With Tatarstan

LD0812161993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Simferopol—The Crimean Supreme Council Presidium held a meeting on 7 December. It approved the agenda for the 15th session of the Supreme Council of Crimea, which will open on 9 December in Simferopol. A number of other issues were discussed, in particular the problem of providing Crimea with energy sources.

Having ascertained that the situation in this sphere was especially complex, Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, noted that despite all the difficulties the republic is coping with the crisis and that now Crimea is not facing the problem of where to get fuel. "The main thing is to find a way of paying the energy suppliers," said the speaker of the Crimean parliament.

In the words of Mykola Bahrov, after a personal conversation with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev, it was agreed that in the near future Tatarstan would supply 100,000 tonnes of oil to the Crimean Republic, which is the republic's quota for two months. A joint stock company called "Krym-Orenburg" will be formed in December to enable the whole of Crimea to be provided with gas from Orenburg next year. In addition, in the next few days eight gas boreholes will be commissioned in northern Crimea.

Borys Samsonov, head of the Crimean Council of Ministers, speaking at a presidium meeting, mentioned some details of the act on price regulation in the Crimean Republic. In his words, the Crimean government received the necessary legal documents from the Ukrainian cabinet of ministers only after 2000 on 5 November. Until then the republic's council of ministers did not know which groups of goods would be affected by the price rises or by which coefficients they would have to be increased. Because of this situation, the liberalization of prices in Crimea was postponed for one day and the new price lists will appear in the shops only on 7 December. At the same time, Borys Samsonov said that some goods in Crimea would cost less than in some of Ukraine's oblasts.

Black Sea Commander on Ukraine 'Freezing' Funds

LD0812190293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1352 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] As UNIAN was informed at the Black Sea Fleet press center on 7 December, Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, described Ukraine's freezing of the fleet's accounts in the Dnepropetrovsk Pryvatbank as "Ukraine's financial games with the Black Sea Fleet." At the beginning of November, Russia transferred 35 billion karbovantsi for the Black Sea Fleet through this bank. For this money, at least six apartment buildings could have been constructed at the time. But it was only permitted to transfer this money to the Black Sea Fleet on 6 December, following the ruinous increase in prices in Ukraine.

In his words, this money has now depreciated and not a single building can be erected with it. The 21 billion karbovantsi which the cabinet of ministers of Ukraine allocated for settling the debts of shipbuilding enterprises has also met with the same fate. "Therefore, it was said at the Black Sea Fleet press center, the 56 billion karbovantsi which the fleet so badly needs have been frozen by the Ukrainian leadership until the December price rises."

Alliance With Turkey in Black Sea Group Viewed

WS0912084193 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 p 19

[Report by Vadym Halynovskyy: "The Black Sea Community: They Cast the Line in Ankara and the Bait Was Swallowed in Kiev"]

[Text] Let us put emotions aside. Ukraine cannot become the leader in the Black Sea region. However, it is clear that it can be the most influential ally of Ankara if it wants to break free from Moscow's influence. Turkey is controlling the Bosporus and in the future it may gain control over a lion's share of transport routes leading to the Caspian area, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Russia has set out on the path of colonizing the Black Sea coast. Attempts to lease naval bases in Sevastopol and Poti, the participation of the Black Sea Fleet in the Georgian war, the de facto subordination of the fleet to the Kremlin, the supporting of separatist trends in the Crimea, Abkhazia, Ajaria, Novorossiya [southern Ukraine], and the Transdniester region demonstrate this. Moscow is seeking backing on the part of its traditional allies in this area—Greece and Bulgaria. The exclusion of these states from the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly [BSECA] or at least reducing their influence would suit the interests of Turkey and Ukraine. Russia's efforts "to put Turkey in order" are becoming ever more brazen. According to observers, some provisions of the Russian military doctrine, including the one stipulating the use of nuclear arms against nonnuclear states that form blocs with nuclear states, are aimed against Ankara.

Turkey has recently been trying to restore its former might. There have been attempts to put an end to pro-Western orientation that has prevailed in Ankara's foreign policy since the times of Ataturk. Turkey is looking for new partners in the east, in the south among other Muslim states, and in the north. The participation in integration processes going on in the Black Sea region is among its foreign policy priorities. It is thus understandable that BSECA conferences held in Bucharest and Kiev were led by Turkish legislature speaker Husamettin Djindorouk. The assembly itself was initiated by the late Turkish leader Turgut Ozal.

The BSECA's Kiev session was accompanied by a new spin of power crisis in Ukraine caused by Russia breaking the single power system, and by the Russian Federation pressing Ukraine to annul provisos to START I. Some time ago, information on Boris Yeltsin's letter to Leonid Kravchuk was revealed. The letter carried serious threats and unprecedented demands, including the elimination of solid- propellant missiles instead of liquid-propellant ones. It is worth mentioning that Russia did not attend either the first or the second BSECA conferences because the dissolving of the Russian legislature by Yeltsin resulted in a ban on the Russian delegation's participation. Experts believe that the conferences gained from that fact because Russia had been pursuing destructive policies in this organ. The Bulgarian delegation did not show up in Kiev, neither did Bulgaria comment on this decision.

Little wonder that both Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch and President Kravchuk began their opening speeches with the issue of reducing nuclear arms. Kravchuk, in particular, pointed out that Ukraine is regarding nuclear missiles deployed on its soil not as arms but as material wealth.

Romanian delegation leader Karol Kerekes termed the Black Sea region "a zone of future social and political conflicts." Thus, proposals to form a collective security structure in the region seemed very timely. The Ukrainian president presented a detailed plan of measures to enhance trust among the states in the region. These include a declaration on inviolability of maritime borders, a joint memorandum on refraining from using navies for resolving local conflicts, and a refusal to grant one's territory for launching aggression against a third state.

The last declaration evidently concerns the unresolved issue of the Black Sea Fleet. Russia's decision to use the common navy for pacifying the Georgian conflict evokes grounded concern, because in this case Ukrainian Sevastopol may become the base of Russia's aggression against a third state.

However, economy was in the spotlight at plenary sessions. The power crisis inflicted losses not to Ukraine alone. In November, Moldova received only one-half of the necessary coal and one-third of gasoline. The Moldovan State Regional Electric Power Station has no reserve of fuel, and any breech in the schedule of shipments may result in turning off electricity throughout the country. The situation in the Transcaucasian republics waging wars for a couple of years now, is much more dramatic.

The participants in the conference paid much attention to the unification of customs regulations. If an agreement were to be signed on this issue, it would be coordinated with the General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs. However, so far the big cloud shed little rain. Oleh Slepichev, Ukrainian foreign economic relations minister pointed out that among 1,400 joint ventures functioning in Ukraine, only 100 were formed with companies representing BSECA countries.

The conference also discussed the issue of establishing an international Black Sea bank for development and trade. A small sensation occurred toward the end of the first day of the conference—a Greek representative suggested that Saloniki be chosen for the seat of the bank, although the Greek delegation had an observer status.

The Georgian delegation actively tried to eliminate the informational blockade around the Republic. Leonid Kravchuk was handed a personal letter from Eduard Shevardnadze, but the participation of Ukrainian National Self-Defense militants in Georgian events was omitted, perhaps not to cross the official Kiev.

Thus far, Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch has been the only champion of the idea of Black Sea economic cooperation. His proposal voiced to Israeli officials regarding Israeli participation in the zone adds to the seriousness of his intentions.

If Plyushch manages to remain the leader of the legislature (while the new draft constitution envisions granting vast powers to the Supreme Council), the southern direction in Ukraine's foreign policy might become the decisive one.

Hungarian Foreign Affairs Official Visits

LD0712183893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Excerpt] A joint Ukrainian-Hungarian committee will meet in Uzhgorod in January to discuss ways of deepening the two countries' relations, Ivan Baba, Hungarian deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, has announced in Kiev. Janos Molnar reports from Kiev.

[Molnar] The deputy state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry said that at the talks this morning the Ukrainian side outlined its stance regarding the parliamentary ratification of the START I Treaty, which the Hungarian delegation received with understanding.

In connection with the Ukrainian proposal on setting up an East-Central European security zone, Ivan Baba pointed out that Hungary will study the Kravchuk initiative. However, the head of the Hungarian delegation also noted that the region's security policy can only be created in concert with the European system. Ivan Baba also reckons that it cannot be set up without Russia's active participation. [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

AU0812075893 Budapest MTI in English 1437 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—Security and minority issues were the focus of two-day talks by Hungarian Deputy State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ivan Baba in Kiev, where they agreed in principle to open a Hungarian college in Ukraine, Baba announced on Tuesday [7 December]. The college syllabus will include economic and arts subjects. School financing will be agreed on at later consultations. He had talks with First Deputy Foreign Minister Mikola Makarevich, Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk, and Deputy Minister for Migration and National Minorities Raul Chilachava.

In connection with European security, the sides discussed Western proposals and an initiative by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk about an East-Central European security zone. To a question, Baba said the current serious economic crisis in Ukraine "does not fundamentally affect" inter-state ties. The sides agreed that a joint minority affairs committee's next meeting should be held in Uzhgorod, Ukraine, in January.

National Affairs

Government Introduces 'State of Emergency'

LD0812175893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1730 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 8 Dec—It has been learned from relevant sources that the leadership of the cabinet of ministers has decided to introduce a state of emergency in Ukraine. In particular it will consist of introducing regulated prices, nationalizing commercial banks, and attempting to renew tough state control over production. From a political viewpoint, a suspension of the activity of parties and a ban on holding strikes and rallies are envisaged.

We note that special double rations were distributed in the army a week ago. It is possible that this was done on the eve of the Ukrainian army holiday, but it is not ruled out that this was also done because of the planned participation of the army in introducing a state of emergency.

'Hazardous' Radionuclides Detected at Chernobyl

Expanded Evacuation Zone Suggested

LD0812195693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Americium-241, a very dangerous radionuclide with a semi-decay period of 433 years, has been detected around the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

Members of a Ukrainian parliamentary commission on protection from the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster said that equally hazardous plutonium-239 was detected there and in the ground waters. Scientists had failed to forecast these discoveries.

The commission suggested that the parliaments of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia amend the appropriate legislation so as to expand the evacuation zone and take steps to counter the spread of radioactive elements.

Spread of Fallout 'Not Excluded'

WS0912104993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Some new aspects of the Chernobyl aftermath have been reported at a news conference held by the Supreme Council Chernobyl Disaster Commission. In particular, journalists were informed that due to shifting water patterns, the further spread of dangerous radioactive elements is not excluded.

Government's Talks With Unions Described

MK0812120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Konstantin Parishkura from Kiev under the "Struggle" rubric: "Ukraine's Trade Unions Present Ultimatum to Kravchuk. All-Ukraine Strike Not Ruled Out"]

[Text] Ukrainian trade unions have decided to discontinue talks with the government about compiling a general tariff agreement. The reason is the three-to eight-fold price hike for food and consumer goods. This decision was made at yesterday's telephone conference of leaders of Ukraine's Federation of Trade Unions and heads of other trade union amalgamations.

During a meeting of Ukrainian union bosses with a government delegation led by Economy Minister Roman Shpek, Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, and Labor Minister Mikhaylo Kaskevych, the sides finally failed to come to terms.

The trade union representatives presented an ultimatum to the authorities demanding an immediate moratorium on prices, revision of the official poverty line (according to the calculations by trade unions, it should be almost twice that confirmed by the cabinet, or 190,000 karbovanets), and indexation of the population's incomes. The trade unions also demanded that President Leonid Kravchuk and acting Prime Minister Efim Zvyagilski urgently appear on television to explain why the already signed treaties were unilaterally breached without trade union approval. It was demanded that the president take over responsibility for the state of Ukraine's economy and the impoverishment of an overwhelming majority of the population.

Should the demands not be met, the trade unions intend to demand the resignation of the president and the head of the cabinet, and they are also threatening an all-Ukraine strike.

Democratic Parties Form Electoral Coalition

LD0912100593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh], has informed a news conference in Kiev about the formation of a new preelectoral bloc, the Standing Council of Heads of the Democratic Parties and Organizations of Ukraine [Postiyno Diyucha Narada Kerivnykiv Demokratychnykh Partiy I Orhanizatsiy Ukrayiny]. Apart from Rukh, the bloc has united the Democratic Party, the Peasant Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Party of the Democratic Revival of Ukraine, and other political organizations and public associations. The founders of the newly established organization intend to coordinate their activity in the forthcoming preelection campaign.

Kuchma Urges 'Harsh Methods,' 'Urgent Reforms'

WS0912094393 Kiev UKRAYINA MOLODA in Ukrainian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma by Larysa Ostrolutska; place and date not given: "We Need Harsh Methods and Urgent Reform"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ostrolutska] The Kuchma government was accused of being unable to predict the outcome of the implemented reforms. To be fair, your government had at least tried to introduce some changes. However, who can currently say what will happen in Ukraine tomorrow or in a couple of months? Where will the upcoming elections lead?

[Kuchma] Your question should have been put in a different way: Who is to blame and what should be done? Let us ponder the issue: Why are we living through hard times? We could analyze the work of my government. If we are unable to do this, we could invite some foreign experts to aid us. History always needs thorough analysis. As for me, I do not understand our current life. Only one out of four mathematic operations—subtraction—is being currently used in our economy.

[Ostrolutska] Anyway, why was the Kuchma government unable to implement its decisions? Why have not you managed to assemble your team?

[Kuchma] In my opinion, I did not have any team. My resignation proves these words. The so-called "team" maintained their chairs.

[Ostrolutska] So, you could not change the ministers....

[Kuchma] Yes, I was unable to make any cabinet changes. You see, we have no law on state service that foresees all details including firing employees when they overstep the limits of their power. In addition, our employees' salaries are so low that rich cats can easily buy them. This situation is abnormal.

[Ostrolutska] Well, you began to speak out on such a sticky topic. Western experts say that the acting Ukrainian Government is corrupt and every minister is anxious to fill his pockets. Could you comment on this issue?

[Kuchma] I cannot tell you anything on the matter. I would like to repeat once again: This government is not my team. This is our president's team. If it were my team, we would have resigned together. Hence, I have no comments on the issue. However, you can see yourself: The official currency rate of a karbovanets [K] to the dollar is 5.9, while the black market rate is K30,000. Therefore, dishonest people in high places have many ways to become rich quickly.

The position of the Supreme Council slightly shocks me. The deputies and the government have changed. I can feel their confusion. However, when I mentioned the extraordinary situation in the economy, they laughed at me and drew my caricatures.

We are both sitting dressed in a room which is not heated. What is happening in schools and hospitals? It is high time to stop talking and start doing things. You had a chance to listen to our president's program a couple of weeks ago. You are asking me questions, however, I would like to ask you: How much have the prices climbed of late? How can you describe the decrease in our people's welfare?

We have been cut off from the Russian power supply. Hence, tomorrow, energy prices will quadruple and we will have to save the state budget at the expense of our consumers. Again, production is falling, so where are we going?

We need harsh methods and urgent reforms. Ukraine of today reminds me of Germany in the post-war period.

[Ostrolutska] Where is our Erhardt? Where is our Adenauer? Where are our geniuses?

[Kuchma] We are not an intellectually deficient nation. Sure, I am not speaking about myself. However, a new prime minister should bring his people with him. In addition, this cabinet team should be based on a stable legislative majority.

In general, we should have held Supreme Council elections no later than December 1993. The deputies should not have put them off until March 1994. Sure, they hope that something can happen in the meantime. They invalidated an all-Republican referendum and voted for March 1993 elections. I am asking myself: Will these elections really be held? I am afraid that something else will happen. We are always content when we say that the socioeconomic situation in Ukraine is stable. However, people can lose patience. We have little hard currency, and the Western partners are not in a hurry to aid us. We should rely on our intellect.

[Ostrolutska] Different political forces have possibly asked you to nominate yourself for upcoming elections....

[Kuchma] I have one question: Does anyone need me? I do not mean the high places. Do ordinary people need me? I am sincere: I myself have not yet decided if I have to nominate my candidature for the upcoming elections. However, I become frustrated when I see what is happening around us....

[Ostrolutska] Nevertheless, will you go together with the "New Ukraine"?

[Kuchma] I share Hrinev's ideas and will cooperate with them.

[Ostrolutska] What about the president's elections?

[Kuchma] It is too early to speak about it. March 1993 will resolve this issue. To tell you the truth, I have not yet thought over this issue. In my opinion, no one would like to deal with our critical socioeconomic situation. I would not like to become a king for a day.

Effects of Power Restrictions Described

PM0812144993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Nataliya Zinets of UNIAN: "Kiev Plunged into Semidarkness"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine's capital, which even prior to this was not particularly well-lit, is now plunged into semidarkness once evening falls: Architectural and aesthetic illumination of facilities has been cut off completely, while lighting in parks, gardens, and public areas has been reduced by half, as it has been on streets, squares, and mainline railroads after 2100 hours.

The supply of electricity to commercial kiosks has been strictly rationed and the wattage of electric lighting in stores, movie theaters, and restaurants has been cut by 30 percent.

A decision to do this has been adopted by the Kiev state administration because of the energy crisis which has hit Ukraine.

The document contains a list of 175 scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and other establishments which are instructed to finish work no later than 1600 hours and to terminate their consumption of electricity completely after that time. Instructions to reduce electricity consumption by one-third have been given to Kiev's subway network and the Kiev and Darnitsa railroad sections.

Indeed, this requirement applies to all of the city's industrial enterprises. They must reduce electricity consumption by 30 percent of September's indicators. Plants and factories have compiled a new schedule for days off, staggering the days across the whole week.

Many enterprises in Kiev have continuous production cycles. For instance, while it is important that the production process at the steel-rolling shops of an industrial giant like "Leninskaya Kuznitsa" is not suddenly brought to a halt when the furnaces are full of metal, it is also the case that the "Khimvolokno" production association simply cannot give everybody the same day off; the enterprise works around the clock, around the year.

Aleksandr Bondarenko, chief of the Kiev state administration Energy Department, declined to tell your correspondent precisely what effect has been achieved in the first days of the enactment of the state administration's instructions. He cited a ban on leadership statements.

It would appear that the leaders at neither the state nor municipal level are up to enforcing any measures other than an administrative ban.

Article Views Problems in Solving Energy Crisis

WS0912093593 Kiev UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY in Ukrainian No 27 8 Dec 93

[Article by Oleksandr Kharchenko: "Independence at the Freezing Point"]

[Text] The energy crisis in Ukraine is perceived by the people at two levels. The first one, empirical or rather microempirical, is when you turn on your television set and there is nothing on, or the lights in your city are turned off because of energy-saving measures, or your train goes only to the Yablunivka station due to fuel shortages. The so-called macroeconomic level is when a common reader, listener, or viewer is overwhelmed by the media with an avalanche of numbers, commentaries, or forecasts such as follows: Fuel at thermal electric power plants will only last until December; the Kharkiv Rayon has been shut off the energy network; nuclear power plants may be stopped due to a low frequency in the energy system.

What is the government doing to overcome the energy crisis? As would be explained in the communist era, certain measures have been applied: the cabinet of ministers has established a committee that is supervising fuel deliveries to power stations; ministries are sending to the Ministry of Energy lists of enterprises that can reduce their working day or stand idle during weekends without affecting their technological cycle. Contradicting its own resolutions, the cabinet of ministers has decided to give ministries the right to decentralize payments for fuel. In various oblasts, particularly in rural areas, so-called "rotary" power stoppages have been introduced.

It must be admitted that the measures have been somewhat successful. For example, the limits of television broadcasts are saving almost 300 megawatts a day, meaning 0.1 Hz of the frequency of electricity in the energy network. Due to the energy crisis, every Ukrainian student knows today that reduction from 50 Hz to 49 Hz would mean the destruction of the entire energy system.

However, all these measures follow the traditional "socialist alternative"—to reduce, divide, and temporarily tighten people's belts. Still, the problems that have generated this crisis remain unsolved. The legislature has decided to stall a draft bill on energy saving, at the same time, pathetically calling to rescue the economy. The government is not even close to untying the Gordian knot of debts: Consumers owe the Ministry of Energy 1 trillion karbovanetses [K], the ministry owes power plants K1.503 billion and banks K553 billion for credits.

According to numerous specialists, in particular Deputy Energy Minister Oleksiy Sheberstov, the problem is not with energy sources but with the credit-financial system. Moreover, neither the legislative nor the executive authorities try to solve this problem. The state still subsidizes bankrupt enterprises that, while consuming great amounts of electricity, produce worthless goods. Instead of creating conditions for market competition, the government still intends to protect a monopoly. Instead of stimulating commercial export of energy sources, we have received the Nordex company, and while enormous amounts of money are disappearing in unknown pockets, oil is still in short supply. Instead of introducing a wise tax policy, we enjoy the fixed hard currency rate.

Undoubtedly, the energy crisis is a tragedy for the country. However, this tragedy may become a drop that overfills the cup of bitterness. Either new people come to power in Ukraine, or the nation that allows itself to be frozen by such shepherds does not deserve even dreams about an independent state.

Personnel Changes at Defense Ministry Critiqued

WS0812134593 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andriy Starostin: "The 'A La Radetskyy' Policy Endorsed by the 'Potential Aggressor'"]

[Text] Defense Minister Radetskyy's personnel policies have been positively assessed by the only state whose legislature has territorial claims to Ukraine: the Russian Federation. The Russian Ostankino Television, without referring to Kiev NEZAVISIMOST, reported that a group of Ukrainian generals, including Chief of Staff

Lopata, were involved in an attempt to sell two Ukrainian bombers to a Transcaucasus republic. NEZAVISIMOST reported on 19 November that Ukrainian Security Service Military Intelligence officers blocked an attempt to sell two bombers worth $10 million for 24 "Zhiguli" cars worth $150,000. It is irrelevant who supported whom in rousing a scandal—whether the Kiev newspaper acted in line with Russia's foreign policy (Russia, by the way, has not denounced its disbanded Supreme Soviet's resolution "On the Status of Sevastopol") or on the contrary, the Russian Foreign Ministry supported a Ukrainian newspaper. The point is that "the progressive part of mankind" is approving of a personnel reshuffling in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. The campaign is aimed at discrediting the Ukrainian Army's chief of staff and its Air Force commander. The roles of "justice-fighters" are performed by Ukrainian Officers Union [SOU] leaders Omelchenko, on behalf of the Ukrainian General Prosecutor's Office, and Skipalskyy on behalf of military counterintelligence. The Ukrainian president has reportedly drafted an edict banning political activities in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The "justice-fighters" are probably driven by a desire to demonstrate loyalty to new defense minister's personnel policies and to postpone the signing of the edict outlawing the SOU on the eve of elections.

What is the essence of Radetskyy's personnel policy? "Nationalist commanders"—Personnel and Socio-Psychological Departments chiefs—were the first to be replaced. What was the cause of the Socio-Psychological Department chief's ousting? The point is that when General Radetskyy was Odessa Military District commander, he banned the activities of all political organizations in the Army, and ordered the immediate displacement of officers who were members of the Prosvita, the SOU, and the Ukrainian Cossacks' Association.

Aside from the "antinationalist" trend in the personnel policy, Radetskyy is pursuing the "anticorruption" one. The scandal involving Generals Lopata and Tymoshenko suits this scheme. It seems that the entire plan of launching an anticorruption campaign is closely connected with motives of former Defense Minister Morozov's resignation. As has become known from Morozov's declarations, the latter decided to resign in protest of Kravchuk's intentions to sell the Ukrainian share of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia. However, a majority of Kiev observers see another reason behind Morozov's decision, namely one of his last orders in the capacity of defense minister. This was an order on embezzlements in military unit No. AO 305 while carrying out conversion of the Ukrainian Air Force. By issuing this order, Morozov renounced Kravchuk's policy to encourage the pledging of allegiance to Ukraine by servicemen of the 409th strategic aviation regiment in Uzyn. Kravchuk's intention was to grant the command of Europe's largest strategic bomber base the right to commercialize the facility in exchange for "patriotic sentiment." Thus, the Ukrainian Defense Ministry would have received a right to exercise administrative control over the regiment.

The deal would have become legal were it not for one nuance—the 30 November 1993 presidential edict "On Experimental Conversion of the 409th Strategic Aviation Regiment" had been issued before a military doctrine was drafted. Thus, in case of a military conflict, the blame for downgrading the combat readiness of strategic units would have been put on Morozov and the legislature which delayed the adoption of a military doctrine, while the president would have washed his hands of it. Morozov resigned, unwilling to bear responsibility for the president's actions. At the same time, the former defense minister assured the Democratic Party of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Republican Party of his consent to be nominated as these parties' candidate. This means that the opposition will be happy to play the "corruption" card in their election campaign. This explains Minister Radetskyy's stance as a corruption fighter. His first act was disbanding the entire 38th Army, in which some 300 vehicles vanished into thin air.

Are the stakes really high in the anticorruption game? Judging from a campaign launched by influential Ukrainian newspapers for lobbying the president's decision, they are. The newspapers claim that Ross Perot, Taurus International, which is headed by John Tower, former chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee; Cuyahoga Holdings, Mitchell Energies Associated, and Federal Express have all volunteered to put $125 million into the restoration of the air base out of the mere desire to assist Ukraine's civil and military aviation. Why have they not chosen the "Boryspil" civilian airfield?

There were no doubts that General Lopata would be fiercely attacked by Moscow in the context of Radetskyy's anticorruption campaign. In August, Vice Prime Minister Shmarov approved Skipalskyy's proposal to sell T-84 tanks to Pakistan. Colonel General Lopata, when heading the Engineering and Technical Department of the Defense Ministry, enjoyed the image of an ardent champion of Ukrainian military exports. Such actions were not welcome and Deputy Charodyeev himself undertook to prevent the contract. Shmarov, Lopata, Morozov, and other "zealous nationalists" failed to receive Kravchuk's backing in implementing the contract. Little wonder, given the fact that no state program for developing Ukrainian military shipbuilding had been drafted before autumn 1994, in hopes of "integration in the CIS."

Thus, one should anticipate that the "stain" on Lopata's uniform will be methodically refreshed until the latter's final resignation. The official justification will be simple—Lopata was punished for a refusal to head the Defense Ministry. However, will the causes for the refusal become known to the public?

Belarus

Agenda for Clinton Visit Said Ready

WS0912093293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Belarus has already outlined the issues to be discussed with U.S. President Bill Clinton during his visit to the republic next month, BELINFORM has learned. The U.S. President will travel to Minsk from Moscow on 15 January, after holding negotiations with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. According to BELINFORM, the talks will concentrate on issues of financial aid to Belarus, the creation of a special fund to support entrepreneurs, and the upgrading of legal relations between the two countries. Belarus hopes to sign agreements on mutual protection of investments, and on avoiding dual taxation.

PRC Justice Ministry Delegation Arrives in Minsk

LD0812204793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] A delegation from the Justice Ministry of the Chinese People's Republic, headed by Vice Minister Pan Qiang-len [name and title as received], has arrived in Minsk. The aim of the visit is familiarization with the organizational experience of law enforcement agencies, courts, and the legal profession of the Republic of Belarus. The delegation was received by Justice Minister Leonid Dashuk, and Supreme Court Chairman Karavay.

The delegation had a meeting at the Internal Affairs Ministry and the State Secretariat for Combatting Crime and National Security of the Council of Ministers. The visit will last several days, during which the delegation will visit Mogilev Oblast.

Deputy Claims 10-Percent Value-Added Tax Harms Producers

WS0812145793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Report by Mikhail Rutkowski]

[Text] Today, People's Deputies Hrinew, Chepik, Marinich, and others delivered reports on miscellaneous issues. According to my fellow journalists, People's Deputy Vasil Chepik could be called a hero of the day. He criticized the policy pursued by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich claiming that Shushkevich and Popular Front's legislative faction are responsible for the economic crisis in the Republic. I am citing Vasil Chepik: Shushkevich, being the highest authority of Belarus, concentrates power in his hands. The whole house burst out laughing, while Stanislav Shushkevich took advantage of the situation and said that power is still in the hands of those who had it before. Next, the deputies began disputing the main issue of the session's agenda. They continued upgrading the law on taxation. In particular, they discussed the law on a value-added tax. People's Deputy Yuriy Belenkiy stated, that a value-added tax can be characterized as suppressive to the economy. I asked People's Deputy Yuriy Belenkiy to comment on this issue.

[Begin recording] [Belenkiy] The matter is that the law on (taxation) has been adopted quite recently. When at the previous Supreme Soviet session I proposed to legalize the activity of foreign insurance companies—along with the Belarusian insurance companies—on the territory of our Republic, the deputies backed the position of the Ministry of Finances and the Supreme Soviet commission for finances and blocked this issue. They explained their position using the weak and unstable financial situation of national insurance companies. Some days ago, the deputies proposed introducing a value-added tax. As a result, our insurance companies will have to pay extra taxes; well, according to a chairman of the Republican collegium of insurance companies, their taxes will climb 11-12-fold. Under such conditions, our insurance companies [words indistinct] go bankrupt. They could be replaced by strong foreign insurance companies. That is why I opposed the introduction of a value-added tax. In addition, I would like to emphasize one more detail. A 10-percent value-added tax will likely concern our agricultural sector. I was not surprised that the deputies unfolded heated discussions just on this issue. As of today, our kolkhozes and sovkhozes do not pay this tax. It is widely known that they are in a desperate financial situation [words indistinct]. Moreover, this new legal norm is being discussed within the framework of the unification of Belarusian and Russian financial systems. In fact, the session is going to approve a legal norm hindering the development of our agricultural sector but which is in accord with the signed Belarusian-Russian agreement. This case demonstrates that we are adopting laws that are harmful to our Belarusian producers. This should make our deputies think over the decrees that they have already adopted. [end recording]

Moldova

NATO Delegation Discusses Cooperation With Chisinau

AU0912105893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0804 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 9/12/1993—A NATO military delegation, headed by Army General Antonio Milani, deputy commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces in Southern Europe, is on a working visit in Chisinau. The delegation includes staff officers of the NATO Armed Forces in the respective area. The purpose of the visit is the establishment of cooperative relations between the NATO and Moldova's Armed Forces, the guests' briefing on the process of building the young national army, the analysis of possibilities to assist Moldova in various military domains, etc.

Antonio Milani had an interview with Colonel Pavel Chirau, first deputy minister of defense, chief of general staff of Moldova's Armed Forces. The NATO representatives are expected to meet also with Division General Pavel Creanga, defense minister, to attend the inauguration of the Euro-Atlantic Center in Chisinau and to call at the "Alexandru cel Bun" military college, MOLDOVA PRES reports.

Chisinau To Accept Russian Mediation on Dniester

AU0812181493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1407 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 8/12/1993—Nicolae Andronic, chairman of the Parliamentary Law Commission, member of the commission in charge of drafting a bill on a special status for Dniester, told MOLDOVA PRESS that the Russian party had an ideal opportunity to prove its qualities of a mediator, in a sincere, well-meaning and efficient way, in order to defuse the conflict in the eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova, so that those concerned have no feeling of being lied to or blackmailed.

Chisinau, said Andronic, has repeatedly showed willingness to negotiate on an equitable basis, starting from the imperious ideas of maintaining territorial integrity and ruling out force.

Figures Show Drop in Production, Growth of Inflation

AU0812182093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/12/1993—For all the tendencies of improvement in some branches of the Republic of Moldova's economy, no "essential changes" were registered in the first three quarters of the current year in the economic and social life, reads a release from the State Department of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova.

Statistical data released show that net production in January-September 1993 dropped 8.6 per cent as compared with the same period of last year, the industrial production dropped 18.4 per cent and the agricultural one 12 per cent. In the first nine months of the current year the inflation rate was 30.4 per cent and in September it was 64 per cent over the month before.

The people's money incomes grew 8.1 times in the first three quarters of 1993 over the same period of last year. Population's expenditures on goods and services grew in the same reference period 7.3 times. The consumer price index rose 1093 per cent over December 1992, including with foodstuffs 855 per cent, non-alimentary goods 1071 per cent, and services 1588 per cent. "The people's income rise is far below the consumer price rise", the communique shows. Whereas the consumer prices were 200 higher last august as compared with the average prices in 1991, the average salary went up only 74 times.

There are 10.4 thousand unemployed in the Republic of Moldova, and only one third of them get unemployment benefit.

In the period covered by the statistics the natural growth of the population declined 14 per cent in the Republic of Moldova.

As regards the volume of foreign trade in the nine months 61 per cent is covered by the relations with the republics in the defunct USSR.

Dniester Region To Use Lei in Noncash Transactions

LD0812155493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0530 GMT 8 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Radio Moldova reports that Republic Finance Minister Claudia Melnik announced that agreement has been reached between the Dniester region and Moldova on the partial circulation of the Moldovan lei for noncash dealing on the territory of the Dniester region. The leadership of the Dniester-Moldovan republic previously announced its refusal to introduce the Moldovan lei on its territory. As before, 1961-1991 rubles are still in circulation here.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev To Present Proposal for CIS Economic Union

LD0812174893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1435 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Amangeldy Akhmatalimov]

[Text] Almaty December 8 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev is still optimistic about CIS prospects. He intends to persistently work at the establishment of the economic union and at the next CIS summit scheduled in Ashgabat on December 23-24 he is expected to put forward an initiative of imparting to it a more efficient and concrete character.

Concrete proposals to this effect have not been finalized yet, but it's quite obvious now that at issue will be learning lessons from a failed attempt to create a rouble zone of a new type.

In Nazarbayev's opinion, the CIS encounters difficulties mainly because its present leaders let emotions take the upper hand alongside seeking to gain present-day advantages instead of making careful economic calculations and strategic plans.

Otherwise, Nazarbayev's repeated proposals envisaging the establishment of a currency and customs union and an interstate bank would not have been left unnoticed. Kazakhstan, which is practically being avalanched by heaps of unnecessary roubles of the Soviet-era, would not have had to introduce its own national currency.

In the meantime, the life experience has shown that there is no alternative to the economic union between former Soviet republics. Heads of CIS states used to avoid the very mention of the word "union" at their meetings. However, non- politicized leaders of Western European countries have long realised the importance of deepening integration processes and in the long run had achieved the establishment of the economic union.

As for CIS states, they do not even have to integrate since their economies have been reliably connected over the past decades of joint economic development. The only thing to do is to restore former economic ties and remove all artificial barriers on the way to their efficient operation.

The Kazakh president has been persistently calling on his colleagues from the former Soviet republics to carefully study the experience of the Maastricht process and adequately apply it to the CIS. Nazarbayev pointed out that is necessary to consider forms and methods of the practical realisation of agreements and treaties signed in the cis framework, since otherwise, they would remain only good intentions like many other previous agreements and no common market between the former Soviet republics would be established.

Elections to New Parliament To Be Held 7 Mar

LD0812211593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Report by D. Baymbetov from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Kazakh parliamentary session began with sharp polemics. Some—almost two thirds of the Supreme Soviet—were for deputies surrendering their powers forthwith and for holding early elections. Others fervently support the system of the obsolete soviets.

Long before the start of the December session one thing was clear—the soviets, engendered by the now defunct totalitarian system, have turned out to be completely redundant. This is probably the reason why many hundreds of soviets in the republic dissolved themselves before the session started and this step was evidently not in vain.

The departure of this unwieldly institution of power from the political arena—there are more than 2,500 village, countryside, and rayon soviets alone in the republic—began from the grassroots in Kazakhstan, as distinct from Russia.

By a majority of votes the session lent its support to the idea of radically reforming the Supreme Soviet and to the necessity of creating a permanent and professional parliament with few deputies. The session, which is due to end in a week's time, will adopt laws on the elections to the local representative bodies of power. Today the deputies set a date for the early elections to the new parliament—7 March 1994. In this context there arose a question of giving President Nursultan Nazarbayev additional powers until that time.

Kyrgyzstan

Official: Reforms Face 'Sabotage' in Provinces

LD0812130293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1112 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek December 8 TASS—"Reforms launched by President Askar Akayev run against acts of virtual sabotage in the provinces," the president's spokesman Osmon Ibraimov told a press conference here today.

He said further "a tendency to restore Soviet power has emerged" in some of the provinces.

This instability and the reluctance of state officials to carry out reforms in the republic forces Askar Akayev to write his own program of steeping up economic reform efforts, the spokesman said.

According to him, the president of Kyrgyzstan is confident that only extraordinary measures can pull the republic out of the its present crisis.

The parliament session on Tuesday left a sad impression, the spokesman said, because by rejecting the idea of creating a professional parliament the lawmakers rejected also the Constitution they approved on May 5 earlier this year.

Chyngyshev Presents Report on New Currency

LD0812185093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan Tursun Chyngyshev in a government report to parliament on Wednesday said the introduction of the country's own currency unit in May was aimed at salvaging the economy from deeper crisis.

In his words, the measure was a forced one because the republic's efforts to join the ruble zone had failed. Chyngyshev said Kyrgyzstan's economic performance over recent months indicated that the measure was taken just in time to avert a critical situation.

The Prime Minister spoke of the government's success in stabilizing output in a number of sectors in subsequent months and cutting inflation by 17-18

from 45

earlier in the year.

This year's electricity production quadrupled on 1992 and there was a double rise in the output of building materials, cotton fabrics, textiles and coal. There are signs of stabilization in the farming sector as well.

The Prime Minister said that further efforts would be taken to achieve economic recovery and the cabinet had drawn up a program for deeper economic reforms over the next two years which provides, among other things, for discarding state orders.

Tajikistan

Abdullojonov Ends UK Visit, Arrives in Moscow

LD0812164493 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] The official visit to Britain by Abdumalik Abdullojonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan, has ended.

Adumalik Abdullojonov met the British Foreign Secretary, the minister of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office [as heard], and other officials. At the initiative of Abdullojonov, an assistance fund for Tajikistan was set up in Britain headed by Margaret Thatcher, a prominent political figure and former prime minister of that country .

Abdumalik Abdullojonov has arrived in Moscow from Britain for talks with the leaders of the Russian Government on Tajikistan's entry into the ruble zone.

Red Cross To Increase Aid to Refugees

LD0812164393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1410 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 8 TASS—"The priority direction in the activities of the International Red Cross mission which opened in Tajikistan this year, was to promote the soonest return of Tajik refugees to their motherland and rendering them material aid," Jean-Marc Bornet, a general delegate of this international non-government organization for East Europe and Central Asia, who is currently on a business visit to this republic, said in an interview with a group of foreign journalists here today.

According to Jean-Marc Bornet, since the beginning of this year the volume of humanitarian aid to Tajik re-emigrants has amounted to over 7 billion U.S. dollars which were spent on purchasing food products, medicines, clothes and other necessary goods, and this aid will be increasing.

The International Red Cross mission has been also making efforts aimed at the rapid repatriation of Tajik citizens from Afghanistan where tens of thousands of the Tajik people fled seeking safety from horrors of the civil war. Representatives of the International Red Cross have been working in this direction in close cooperation with the Tajik Government and such international organizations as "physicians without borders, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees whose branches were opened in Dushanbe.

Touching on the term of stay of the International Red Cross mission in the Tajik Republic, Jean-Marc Bornet noted that its mandate does not stipulate any limited time. The mission plans to stay in the republic until a tense situation in this region is eased.

There is no armed confrontation inside the country, but there is no durable peace there either, Jean-Marc Bornet said noting that despite the world community's measures aimed at promoting stabilization of the social and political situation in the republic, the establishment of peace and civic accord to a great extent depends on the Tajik Government itself.

In the course of his visit to the republic the general delegate of the International Red Cross had private talks with head of the Tajik state, Emomali Rakhmonov, other leaders of the republic and met with representatives of peacemaking organizations of Tajikistan.

Jean-Marc Bornet also intends to visit a number of corrective labor colonies in Tajikistan to familiarise himself with conditions in which lawbreakers live, including those convicted for state crimes.

Armenia

Yerevan Calls For International Peacekeeping Forces

NC0812212693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1256 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 8 (SNARK)—Armenia speaks for the Russian peace-making forces bringing into the zone of the Karabakh conflict, Khachatur Bezirdzhyan, Armenian representative in the CSCE Council of High Officials, told SNARK. Armenia is for the UN and the CSCE observers presence in the zone of the Karabakh conflict.

Answering the SNARK's question on the possibility of the Russian peace-making forces bringing within the CIS into the zone of the conflict, Mr. Bezirdzhyan said that "Russia is against the idea of using her forces without the International organizations' content". He also mentioned that there is no tension in Russian-Armenian relations.

Official: Minsk Peace Process in 'Blind Alley'

NC0812210193 Yerevan SNARK in English 1256 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 8 (SNARK)—The Minsk process of the Karabakh problem peaceful regulation is in blind alley—it can be solved only with the help of new initiatives and suggestions, Vardan Oskanyan, head of the Northern American Department of the Armenian Foreign Department, told SNARK. He also mentioned that the CSCE and the Minsk Group should introduce their initiatives. As for Armenia, Mr. Oskanyan said that the Armenian high authorities are working out the suggestions. He refused giving the details of preparing suggestions.

Georgia

Abkhaz Negotiator: Talks' Success May Help End Sanctions

LD0812152593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1444 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—A success in Abkhazian-Georgian talks in Geneva might help lift economic sanctions imposed on Abkhazia by Russian Government, according to Sokrat Djinjolia, head of the Abkhazian negotiating team.

Djinjolia told reportes on Wednesday that a memorandum on understanding signed in Geneva was "just and objective".

The sides committed themselves not to use force or a threat of force for the period of negotiations on a full-scale political settlement, to station peace-keeping forces along the line of confrontation, and to increase the number of military observers in the conflict zone. They also agreed to exchange on December 20 all prisoners-of-war, as well as to create conditions for refugees to return to Abkhazia and for searching those missing during the conflict.

The Abkhaz chief negotiator said a special commission with participation of Russian experts will start to work in a few days to prepare recommendations on Abkhazia's political status.

According to Djinjolia, a national referendum on the status of the province will be held after the refugees come back to their native places.

Tbilisi, Russian Officials Discuss Abkhaz Issue

LD0812225693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Now, news from Georgia. Zurab Dvali, a correspondent of the IPRINDA Information Agency, reports from Tbilisi.

[Dvali] Some media sources have reported lately that Abkhaz formations are leaving the territory along the Inguri River, which they held before, retreating further back into Abkhazia. [passage omitted]

The results of the Geneva meeting on the Abkhaz issue remain a focus of attention of the politicians and the press in Georgia.

Today an exchange of opinions on this matter took place between Aleksandr Yakovenko, the counsellor on interethnic relations of the Russian Federation Embassy, and Aleksandr Kavsadze, chairman of the Human Rights Committee and personal envoy of the [Georgian] head of state, at the talks on Abkhazia. Both sides commented on the positive character of the memorandum adopted at the [Geneva] meeting. They especially noted the determination of all parties involved to settle the Abkhaz issue peacefully. Aleksandr Kavsadze pointed out the important role played by Russia, which is acting as an intermediary during the talks, and said that the future of Georgian-Abkhaz relations depended to a considerable extent on how firm its stance was going to be.

It was revealed at the meeting that Georgia had already drawn up the list of experts who are to take part in the talks on defining the legal status of Abkhazia. In turn, the Russian Embassy counsellor, Aleksandr Yakovenko, said that the question of who exactly from the Russian side will work on the expert group is still being discussed.

Estonia

Ministry Reacts to Russian UN Human Rights Appeal

WS0912100993 Tallinn MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PRESS RELEASE in English 8 Dec 93

[Press release under the "NEWS From the Estonian Foreign Ministry" header: "Watered-Down Version of Russian Resolution Accepted at UN"; received via Internet on-line services]

[Text] Russia's attempt to blacken the image of Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia was nothing more than a "Pyrrhic victory," stated Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar following acceptance of a Russian resolution in the United Nations General Assembly December 8. "Despite intense lobbying by the Russians, they could achieve no more than consensus on a relatively innocuous text," added Laar. "With no date or session specified, the resolution is as good as dead, anyway."

In contrast to the original lengthy and heavily propagandistic text originally submitted by the Russian Federation, the brief resolution on the "Situation of Human Rights in Estonia and Latvia" finally approved by consensus today contained no anti-Baltic propaganda. Instead, the resolution merely noted the reports of the UN missions to Estonia and Latvia and welcomed the cooperation of the Governments of Estonia and Latvia, while also noting the "existence of unresolved issues which involve large groups of population of different origin." A clear blow to the Russians was the decision to defer consideration of the entire issue to an unspecified future session of the UNGA [UN General Assembly].

A large number of member states had been prepared to abstain from voting, potentially leaving the outcome to be determined by a small number of countries. But the Estonians, in a spirit of goodwill and constructive cooperation as well as out of concern for the situation in Russia before the elections, continued to negotiate. Although the Russians rejected compromise language proposed by the Chairman of the Third Committee, all sides were finally able to settle on relatively neutral wording, avoiding a vote.

Estonia had maintained that the Russian agenda item was not based on any concrete evidence of human rights violations in Estonia. Since the UN's own fact-finding mission had reported that human rights are not being violated in Estonia, that nation viewed the continuation of this item at next year's 49th session of the UN General Assembly as unnecessary. In addition, Estonia argued that the discontinuation of the Russian agenda item would also assist the efforts of the General Assembly to allocate its limited resources to the discussion and solution of actual and serious human rights problems.

Since the restoration of independence in 1991, Estonia has enacted legislation which ensures respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of every resident. The UN fact-finding mission to Estonia reported in May 1993, "The Estonian Constitution is compatible with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The citizenship and language laws examined are also compatible with general principles of international human rights law."

Estonia recently updated and readopted the "Law on Cultural Autonomy of Minorities," which established the educational, cultural and religious rights of minorities in Estonia. The CSCE High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Max Van der Stoel, expressed his satisfaction with the law's substance and stressed that it could be used as a model for other countries dealing with minority issues. The Law on Aliens provides a legal basis for noncitizens to reside in Estonia as well as guaranteeing their freedom of movement and right to vote in local elections. On October 17, Estonia held its first post-Soviet local elections, which were declared by observers from the Council of Europe to have been conducted freely and fairly. Because the Estonian Constitution gives all permanent residents the right to vote in local elections, Estonia's resident alien population had the unique opportunity to participate directly in the country's political process. Over 170,000 of the votes were cast by non-citizen residents.

Other positive steps taken by Estonia in recent months include holding regular meetings of a special Presidential Round Table, giving retired Soviet military personnel the opportunity to apply for residency, and appointing a Minister for Nationalities.

Since Estonia believes that human rights are an issue of international concern, Estonia has welcomed the visits by over a dozen human rights fact-finding missions from organizations such as the CSCE, Council of Europe, and the United Nations. None of these official missions has found evidence of human rights abuses in Estonia. In fact, the UN mission "found no evidence of discrimination along ethnic or religious grounds."

The favorable reports of all these international delegations have so far been ignored by the Russian Federation which has continued its groundless attacks against Estonia's human rights record. Such politicization of a fundamental human rights issue greatly hinders measures being taken by Estonia to promote the peaceful integration of noncitizens into Estonian society.

Meri on Official Visit to Turkey

WA0812145193

For Turkish reportage on the visit to Turkey by President Lennart Meri, including reports on his meeting with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, see the Turkey section of the 8 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Latvia

Troop Withdrawal Talks With Russia Resume

PM0812132993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Valeriy Gromak report: "Draft Decisions in Place, Just a Question of Signing Them. Breakthrough Emerges in Russian-Latvian Relations"]

[Text] Three weeks ago, during a meeting of the Russian and Latvian delegations, Russia put forward a package of new proposals whereby our troops could leave Latvia by 31 August next year. On two conditions: Provided Russia is allowed to use the early warning system's radar center in the city of Skrunda for six years within the framework of the ABM Treaty, and also provided the question of social protection for military pensioners is resolved.

The sides continued discussing the Russian proposals at the latest round of talks in Jurmala that opened 6 December. To date a number of draft intergovernmental agreements have been definitively coordinated and initialed. And—something that is particularly important—the delegation heads have endorsed [zavizirovat] the agreed text of the draft agreement on social protection for Russian Army and Border Guard Troop servicemen temporarily stationed on Latvian territory. The draft notes that servicemen and members of their families own, use, and dispose of property and real estate, including apartments, garages, and dachas to which they have a legal right of ownership, on an equal footing. The Latvian side also pledges to make a one-shot payment using extrabudgetary funds, based on the market value of one square meter of housing, if servicemen move to Russia or another country. Moreover, the families of servicemen leaving for Russia can occupy their housing until the head of the family is given housing in his new place of service, but not after the Russian troop withdrawal is complete.

If the agreement on questions of social protection for military pensioners and members of their families is signed, it will relieve the tension on this issue. The question of medical provision will also be settled. There are disagreements on one point: The Russian side insists that servicemen discharged into the reserve at the time the agreement is signed and members of their families have the right to permanent residence in Latvia after the troop withdrawal if they so desire. The Latvian delegation takes a different view: Servicemen discharged from active military service before 4 May 1990 and members of their families with a permanent residence permit in Latvia can only obtain an ID card [vid na zhitelstvo].

Birkavs Assesses Results of Talks With Russia

LD0912113193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0500 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs by correspondent Guntis Scerbinskis following completion of round of bilateral talks with Russia on 8 December—recorded]

[Text] [Birkavs] I think that Russia demonstrated flexibility assenting to our standpoint to begin with the signing of an agreement dismantling the Skrunda monster within the fixed timescale and accepting our demand for it to be a civil facility.

Discussions have not ended, but this step allows us to continue the talks.

[Scerbinskis] But first of all this agreement should be signed.

[Birkavs] The agreement should not be signed first of all. First of all it should be discussed and we should agree and then it should be signed. Therefore, this round of talks will come to an end and the next round will evidently take place in Moscow on 20 December.

[Scerbinskis] You have also met the head of the Russian delegation, Sergey Zotov. What issues did you discuss?

[Birkavs] All the same ones.

[Scerbinskis] The Skrunda issue in particular currently dominates the talks. Do you not think that the issues of economic relations are left unattended?

[Birkavs] I think that primarily this is not exactly the case but this is a border line, this is a decisive point the solution of which will facilitate tackling other issues.

[Scerbinskis] You know that Mr. Godmanis in his time signed with Russia's prime minister an agreement on the most favored nation status. What is the fate of that agreement?

[Birkavs] How does it help to sign an agreement if it is not kept?

[Scerbinskis] Are talks on this agreement and on its coming into force continuing at the moment?

[Birkavs] In practice such talks are not intensive enough.

[Scerbinskis] In your opinion, is a Latvian-Russian summit necessary at the moment?

[Birkavs] A meeting with a specific program and a specific aim, which moves relations between states forward and improves them, is always necessary.

[Scerbinskis] Will the planned visit by Ulmanis be possible by the end of this year?

[Birkavs] I doubt that it is possible by the end of the year, it would simply be done in a hurry. It is necessary to prepare thoroughly for such a visit. This is of course related to the next rounds of the Russian-Latvian talks.

Lithuania

Gylys on CSCE, NATO Meetings in Rome, Brussels

LD0812203393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] A news conference by Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys took place in the Foreign Affairs Ministry today. The results of the CSCE foreign ministers meetings and of the North Atlantic Union Cooperation Council that took place last week in Rome and Brussels, and of the meeting of the Baltic foreign ministers in Tallinn were discussed at the news conference.

Audrius Baciulis reports: The foreign ministers of the three Baltic states decided in Tallinn that the text of a tripartite interstate treaty should be prepared by the first quarter of next year. The Treaty on Unity and Cooperation signed in 1934, which is valid at present, no longer corresponds with the present day requirements, especially in the issues on political and legal integration. The ministers also agreed to deal with tripartite agreements on agriculture and on a visa regime, and to better coordinate the work of the customs services.

In developing cooperation with the Nordic Council, it is intended to organize a new meeting of the five Nordic and three Baltic states in the autumn of 1994, after the Russian Army is withdrawn from Latvia and Estonia.

The Lithuanian foreign minister stressed that he was meeting the Latvian and Estonian foreign ministers so often, that he always knows when they should be supported or when they should support Lithuania, and there were no problems about the coordination of actions.

Povilas Gylys denied information that in Rome, at the meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers meeting, the stance of the Lithuanian delegation, after Russia expressed its wish to be a peacemaker on the territory of the former Soviet Union, differed from the views of Latvia and Estonia, and was more cautious. Povilas Gylys claimed that somebody must have distorted the text of his speech. Caution in diplomacy is not a bad thing, but I did not speak cautiously but clearly, stated Povilas Gylys.

Speaking about Lithuania's integration into NATO, the Lithuanian foreign minister said that Lithuania supported the peaceful initiative of the NATO partnership, but NATO is not prepared to admit us, and we are not prepared to join a defense bloc raising such strict demands. These demands, according to him, are a strict control of military structures, a new method of training servicemen, and corresponding financial obligations. In addition, nobody can say what kind of NATO there will be in five years time, stressed Povilas Gylys.

Asked whether a referendum should be held on joining NATO, Povilas Gylys replied: So far we do not intend to join and there will be no referendum. But, most probably, such a referendum will be held in future.

The foreign minister also announced that, together with Polish Foreign Minister Olechowski, he is personally to take part in the preparation of interstate treaties and exchange in the immediate future of a draft text of the Lithuanian-Polish Treaty.

Asked about the future of the Adutiskis railway station [Belarusian Supreme Soviet opposes its being on Lithuanian territory], Povilas Gylys replied that yesterday this station was still under Lithuanian administration, there were no visible changes from the Belarusian side, although there have been statements.

Paper Provides Economic Forecast for 1994

WS0912100093 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 18 Nov 93 No. 224 p 7

["Text" of the "Economic Forecast for the Republic of Lithuania in 1994"]

[Excerpts] **Analysis of the Current Condition in the Economy**

While transforming itself into a market economy, the Lithuanian economy is experiencing the deepest crisis, the scope of which is comparable only to the 1929-33 world economic crisis.

The country's gross national product [GNP] and the real wages in 1993 will account only for 43 and 32 percent of the 1989 level, respectively.

The policies of the second government resulted in an extremely high inflation rate in 1992 (1,163 percent). This actually removed any incentives for accumulation and particularly affected those inhabitants whose savings devalued 13 times over that year.

The delayed introduction of the national currency also had a negative effect on the country's economic development.

The increase in the share of the private sector (up to 32 percent according to revenues) did not offset the drop in the utilization of the state capital due to the insufficient economic effectiveness of the first.

The tough monetary policy conducted by the current government has actually stabilized the economic situation in the country. The monthly inflation rate dropped from 25 percent in May to 0.9 percent in August. The sphere of state regulation includes only charges for public utilities and transport.

The stabilization in industrial production has become noticeable over the recent months, and the scope of production in separate industries (clothes making, leather and its products, timber, medical equipment, machine and tool production, and others) has grown. However, the average utilization of production capacities still remains low (42 percent). The share of industrial exports to foreign countries (excluding the CIS) decreased from 20.4 percent in March to 11.1 percent in August. This actually depended on the litas exchange rate against the U.S. dollar that was unfavorable to exports.

A relative excess of goods has emerged on the market of the farm produce. Although the inhabitants' real incomes have increased by 3-5 percent over the last months, they account only for 55 percent of the 1992 level. [passage omitted]

The rate of unemployment (32,400 people or 1.8 percent) does not reflect the actual situation because a large part of the employees at enterprises do not work a full week.

The activities of economic units are hampered by old problems that are difficult to solve—mutual debts, the inefficient system of settlements with partners, a high credit interest rate, and a shortage of working capital. The debt of enterprises accounts for 73.5 percent of the total domestic debt. Lithuanian economic units failed to pay 773.5 million litai [Lt] or 60 percent of the debt to their domestic economic partners.

Forecast for Key Macroeconomic Indicators

The 1993 GNP will drop by 17.1 percent in comparison with 1992. This will depend on the decrease of production and services in extracting and processing industries, construction, the energy system, transport, and trade—that is, in all those spheres which largely define the GNP level. [passage omitted]

The GNP is projected to increase by 1.2 percent in 1994 compared to this year. This forecast is based on estimations of respective ministries, the predicted growth of production capacities in the key economic spheres, and the anticipated inflation rate and the stability of the litas exchange rate.

The general index of prices for consumer goods and services is expected to be 1.3 in 1994. This does not conform with the principle of the memorandum between Lithuania and the IMF not to exceed the 10-percent limit of the inflation rate.

Additional estimations show that the preservation of the 10- percent inflation rate in 1994 will be problematic. This rate can be achieved only by pursuing a tough policy of restriction which, in turn, will impede the activities of economic units. [passage omitted]

A. Aggregate Demand

Household consumption. According to the Statistics Department, real household incomes dropped by 60 percent in 1991-92 (in comparison with December 1990). This year, the dynamics of real incomes have stabilized, and a slight tendency toward their increase has been noticeable since June. The analysis of household incomes and spending shows that the average monthly earnings per capita are about Lt105.

An extremely great differentiation of household incomes should be noted. About 40 percent of the population (the poorest groups) receive only 18 percent of all incomes.

The structure of household consumption remains unsatisfactory. Spending for food products clearly dominates all consumption (67 percent, while in industrial countries this is 30-35 percent). Less than one-fifth of all spending goes to commodities other than food. [passage omitted]

The forecast of state social insurance is based on that of the average wages and the employment rate. The state social insurance budget is estimated to account for Lt2 billion in 1994.

Due to the slower rate of decline in separate industries and the hidden unemployment, the rate of unemployment in 1993 is expected to be lower—33,000-35,000 people (2.0-2.5 percent) against the predicted 80,000 (4.5-5.0 percent).

After insolvent enterprises go bankrupt and the hidden unemployment becomes open, the number of jobless people may increase to 90,000 in 1994, and even reach 120,000-140,000 by the end of next year. This would account for 4.3 percent (5.7-6.6 percent by the end of 1994) among the people who are able to work.

According to the estimates of the Social Security Ministry, the financing of the program of the labor market and employment institutions (employment offices and adult training centers) will require about Lt170 million in 1994. More than 38 percent of the employment fund will be allocated to unemployment benefits. The average unemployment benefit may account for Lt90 next year.

State consumption. According to the preliminary data of the Finance Ministry, the largest part of the national budget spending—Lt1.258 billion (49.4 percent)—will go to the social and cultural spheres (46 percent in 1993); spending for the government machine, national defense, missions abroad, public order, and law enforcement will account for Lt375.8 million or 14.8 percent (13.6 percent in 1993); subsidies will make up Lt157.9 million (the latter sum may be increased to meet the requirements of the national program for the development of agriculture).

The 1994 budget deficit is estimated at Lt17 million or 0.1 percent of the GNP.

Editorial Predicts Slight Chances for Joining NATO

WS0812142493 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 30 Nov 93 No. 231 p 4

[Editorial: "NATO: A Referendum in the 'Near Abroad' Country'?"]

[Text] After almost a month-long discussion on Lithuania's security guarantees, National Defense Minister L. Linkevicius conveyed Lithuanian President A. Brazauskas' opinion that Lithuania seeks the signing of an agreement on partnership and cooperation with NATO which would also provide for the prospect of its membership in this organization, during his first meeting with NATO Secretary General M. Worner. This position was backed by Lithuania's nine right-wing parties as far back as October, including the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP], even though the LDDP Program Group criticized their statement. After the defense minister's visit to Brussels, it seems, however, that the goal of NATO membership is becoming Lithuania's official policy.

It should be noted that it is at a time when Lithuanian officials dared at last to declare this goal publicly that Russia became particularly interested in the prospects of NATO's expansion. According to Reuter and AFP reports, last Thursday [25 November], severe criticism expressed by Y. Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, concerning the possibility of NATO's expansion to the East was based on his analysts' conclusions. Y. Primakov stated that if NATO "approached" Russia's borders, the latter would be forced to adopt "retaliatory measures," which would be a heavy load on the country's economy. Moreover, "concerned over Russia's security, its citizens might trigger unrest inside the country." By the way, the conclusions of Russian intelligence analysts are hardly compatible with the recent comments by Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev on the plans of the "near abroad" countries to look for security guarantees under the NATO "umbrella." The chief of Russian diplomacy believes that this is an internal matter of those countries. However, G. Karasin, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, announced shortly that the key priority of Russian diplomacy is the protection of the rights of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia and Estonia. Russia claims that it does not want to use the argument of force and that it does not threaten anyone. However, its diplomatic activity in this issue is intensifying. The principles of Russia's military doctrine, which is a country threatening to no one, state that the presence of foreign ("distant abroad?") soldiers in the "near abroad" countries would pose a potential threat to it. This is declared by a state that has continuously postponed the deadline for the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states.

Although Russian officials do not forget to add that they no longer consider NATO "a camp of enemies," the military doctrine indicates that Russia would be threatened if former USSR and even Central European countries join the West European collective security system. We remember how Russian President B. Yeltsin reacted tolerantly to Poland's desire to join NATO during his visit to this former Warsaw Pact state. However, later this position was "corrected" in the opposite direction. Russia continues to pursue the same tactics. As KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA claims, Y. Primakov's "doctrine" was approved by the Russian president and the Defense Ministry, while the Foreign Ministry "knows nothing" about it. Such are the diplomatic traditions of this country.

It is surprising that Lithuanian politicians are also adopting such flexible diplomacy. At its press conference last week, the Seimas [parliament] LDDP faction expressed the opinion that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia should not lag behind Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, which are trying to cross NATO's doorstep. Yesterday, the Lithuanian president's spokesman confirmed to RESPUBLIKA that Lithuania has officially expressed its desire to seek NATO membership. However, the Seimas chairman said yesterday that this issue should be debated in the legislature. It would be even better to submit this question to a referendum and thus find out the nation's will. Given the fact that NATO is going to adopt its principal decision on the admission of new members at a meeting of NATO state heads in January, one can predict that we may fall behind not only Central European countries, but also Latvia and Estonia. Such Lithuania's maneuvers may become a pretext for keeping it in the "near abroad" zone for a long time. Will the desire of new Defense Minister L. Linkevicius to teach Lithuanian soldiers the English language not remain only a beautiful dream?